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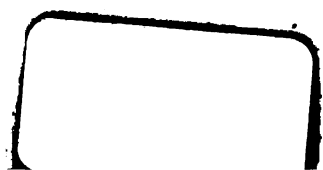
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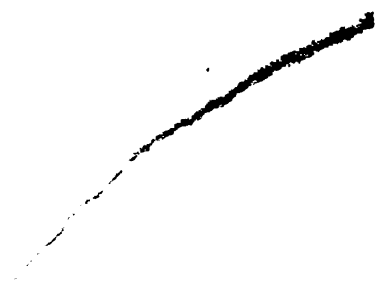


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HISTORICAL COLLECTIONS
OF
Louisiana and Florida,
INCLUDING
TRANSLATIONS OF ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPTS RELATING TO THEIR
DISCOVERY AND SETTLEMENT,
WITH NUMEROUS
HISTORICAL AND BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES.

By B. F. FRENCH,
MEMBER OF THE LOUISIANA, GEORGIA, PENNSYLVANIA, NEW JERSEY, NEW YORK, AND
MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETIES.



Historical Memoirs and Narratives, 1527-1702.

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TO
LIEUTENANT G. W. COSTER,

OF THE UNITED STATES NAVY,
THIS VOLUME IS

Dedicated,

AS A TOKEN OF ESTEEM AND FRIENDSHIP, AND
ADMIRATION OF HIS PROFESSIONAL AND
SCIENTIFIC ATTAINMENTS,

BY

B. F. FRENCH.

NO. 94 CLINTON PLACE,
NEW YORK.

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Introduction.



THE spirit of adventure which manifested itself in Europe during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, was one of the clearest evidences of an approaching moral and political regeneration.

It indicated the first waking moments of mind from the torpor which had crept over it, and the struggle that ensued, though ill-directed and ill-regulated, was yet active, energetic, and earnest—working out into reality and fact, what had seemed before but the vagary of a dream. There was a movement in Europe, a progressive movement, whose vital energies were to be exhausted in new fields. Men were looking out for *themselves*, and indulging in airy fancies; they panted for new scenes and enterprises; they loathed the contracted empire which Nature had apparently assigned them, and strained their eyes across wide oceans for new countries. The spirit which had been awakened was to slumber no more—there was hope for Europe and for the new continent which the Northmen and Columbus had discovered, and the fifteenth century opened a way for the sixteenth.

It was the fifteenth which produced Columbus, but the sixteenth and seventeenth carried out his noble conceptions, and filled the ocean with adventurers and explorers of distant lands. The country adjacent to the St. Lawrence, Hudson, Mississippi, and the savannahs of Florida, were soon reached by colonists from Spain, France, Holland, and England, thirsting for glory and gold, for liberty and equality. In 1513, Juan Ponce de Leon, a veteran cavalier and seaman, on Easter Sunday, *Pascha Floridum*, discovered the coast of Florida, and landed at a place called the Bay of the Cross, where he took formal possession and planted a stone cross as a sign of the jurisdiction of Spain.

He discovered Cape Corrientes (Canaveral), and also the Tortugas and rocks called the Martyrs; he then entered the bay, sometimes called after his name, where he also landed, and took possession of the country in the name of the Castilian sovereigns, and returned to Spain, where, by much solicitation, he obtained the appointment of governor, to plant a colony in Florida; and on his return he was repulsed by the natives in attempting to take possession of the country, and while suffering from the wounds received from the Indians he was compelled to return to Hispaniola, where he died.

The voyages of Don Francisco de Garay, governor of Cuba, now began to throw new light on the discoveries of Ponce de Leon, and the coast of Florida became better known; and with motives of a more sordid nature, Luke Vasquez de Ayllon, in 1520, equipped two ships, and sailed

from Hispaniola to explore the coast and capture the natives. In a few days he made land in the Bay of St. Helena (South Carolina), and landed on the banks of the "Jordan" river (Combahee), in the country called by the Indians "Chichora," where he invited them on board and sailed to St. Domingo to sell them for slaves; but, as if to punish his perfidy, one of his ships foundered at sea, and both captors and the captives perished together. He again returned to Spain, and instead of being punished for his piracy, he was rewarded by Charles the Fifth with a commission as governor of all the countries he should discover; and, in 1525, he went again to St. Helena with three ships, one of which was stranded at the mouth of the "Jordan," and two hundred of his men were cut off and massacred by the natives; and he himself only escaped to die at the recollection of a life which had been so ignominiously spent.

In this state of affairs, Charles the Fifth, Emperor of Spain, granted to Pamphilo de Narvaez a commission to conquer and govern all the country from the River of Palms (Panuco, in Mexico) to the Cape of Florida. On the 16th of June, 1527, he sailed from St. Lucar, Spain, with six hundred men, and arrived at the island of Cuba, where he remained some months, but finally departed in March, 1528, and in April landed in the Bay of Apalache; and after issuing a proclamation of destruction to the natives (this document is printed in this volume) unless they acknowledged the sovereignty of the Pope and the Emperor, he wandered two hundred leagues or more through the country

in search of gold. He finally reached the Indian town of Aute, on the Bay of St. Marks (San Marco de Apalache), where he desperately put to sea in a few small boats, and in attempting to cross the mouths of the Mississippi in a storm, he perished at sea, and only four of his men escaped shipwreck, three of whom, after years of vicissitude, reached Mexico nine years after, among whom was Don Alvar Nunez Cabeza de Vaca, who published his interesting narrative of the countries or Spanish provinces in the south-west and New Spain, which he visited in 1530-4. It is supposed that he was the first, before De Soto, to cross the Mississippi, at one of the Chickasaw bluffs, near Memphis, and proceeded west by the waters of Arkansas to Chihuahua, thence to Cinaloa, and from thence to Mexico.

After these disasters the vast country of Florida was neglected. But the excited fancy of the Spaniards still, however, continued to burn for gold and conquest, and after the lapse of some years, Hernando de Soto, who had been with Pizarro, in the conquest of Peru, and an account of whose expedition to Florida was written by a gentleman of Elvas (supposed to be Benedict Fernandez), which is published, with that of Biedma, in the second volume of the first series of the "Historical Collections of Louisiana," now obtained from Charles the Fifth the appointment of Governor-General of Florida, and Marquess of all the lands he might conquer. He set sail from Spain, in 1538, with an ample armament, and in 1539 he landed at the Bay of Espiritu Santo, now Tampa Bay, with six hundred and twenty chosen men, and

declared that the enterprise was undertaken for God alone. He traversed with his army great portions of Georgia, South Carolina, Alabama, Tennessee, and Mississippi, and at length, in the third year of their journeying, they reached, what De Soto was long in search of, the Mississippi, the Indian name of which was Mechacebe, and the Spanish, "Rio del Espirito Santo" (one hundred and thirty-two years before its second discovery by Marquette and Joliet), which the historian of this expedition describes as "Almost half a league wide, deep, rapid, and constantly rolling down trees and drift-wood on its turbid waters. The current was strong, and with the help of oars they went very swiftly. If a man stood still on the opposite side of it, it could not be discerned whether he was a man or no. In places it was a league or more broad, and of great depth, and the water always muddy," which is unmistakably a description of some of the physical features of this great river, that De Soto so much admired for its grandeur and extent, and claimed for his sovereign ; and in presence of his army he named it "*El Rio Grande de la Florida*," and which name it retained for over one hundred and thirty years ; while the honor of its discovery equally belongs to his successor, Don Louis Moscoso de Alvarado, who led, after the death of De Soto, the remainder of his army, in brigantines, down its stream to the Gulf of Mexico, and from thence to the city of Mexico, where he announced to the world, not only its physical features, but gave an account of the various Indian tribes found upon its banks. In its course this great river receives

on the one side all the waters of the Alleghanies, and on the other all those of the Rocky Mountains. It stands there like a gigantic production of nature, with its far-reaching arms, adapted to bring into connection the most fruitful States of North America. At this period Spain claimed, under the name of Florida, the entire coast of North America; but she had not as yet, within this whole extent, built one fort, or attempted to occupy one harbor or town.

It was ever the characteristic of the Spanish conqueror, that first in his thoughts and aims was the extension of the religion in which he was born and bred. The complete history of the Romish Church in North or South America, was to embrace the whole conquest or settlement of those portions held originally by France and Spain. While others sought gold in the New World, the priests labored for the propagation of religion and conversion of souls. No expedition left the shores of Spain or France that was not supplied with pious priests.

The first wholly missionary voyage to the shores of Florida was undertaken by Luis Cancel de Balbastro, a Dominican friar, in 1547, who was permitted, at the expense of the Emperor Charles the Fifth, to proceed to Florida to Christianize the Indians of that country. He sailed, accordingly, from Vera Cruz, Mexico, in 1549, bearing to their pious duty three other zealous brothers, Juan Garcia, Diego de Tolosa, and Gregoria de Beteta.

They landed on the western coast of Florida, in about 28° of north latitude, the day after Ascension Day; and after

two months wasted in fruitless efforts to conciliate the natives, when all but Beteta had fallen martyrs to the cause of Christianity, the vessel returned to Vera Cruz. Some years later (1559), when Don Tristan de Luna y Arrelano founded the colony of *Santa Maria de Filipina*, near Pensacola, he was accompanied by a provincial bishop and a considerable corps of priests; but as his attempt was unsuccessful, his colony were soon disbanded, as they could not make any impression upon the natives.*

It would appear, from this reception of the holy fathers, the natives had anticipated some trouble from the Spaniards, which was foreshadowed in an address to the King from Dr. Santander, July 15, 1557.†

After the disastrous and tragical termination of so many attempts to reduce the country of Florida under Spanish dominion, the zeal of the Spaniards began to abate. But

* Brinton's "Notes on the Floridian Peninsula."

† Address to the King:—"It is lawful that your Majesty, like a good shepherd, appointed by the hand of the Eternal Father, should tend and lead out your sheep, since the Holy Spirit has shown spreading pastures whereon are feeding lost sheep which have been snatched away by the dragon, the Demon. These pastures are the New World, wherein is comprised Florida, now in possession of the Demon, and here he makes himself adored and revered. This is the land of promise, possessed by idolaters; this is the land promised by the Eternal Father to the faithful, since we are commanded by God, in the holy Scriptures, to take it from them, being idolaters; and by reason of their idolatry and sin, to put them all to the knife, leaving no living thing, save maidens and children; their cities robbed and sacked, their walls and houses leveled to the earth." This writer then proposes to occupy Florida at various points, and found a city to be called Filipina, another at Pensacola, to be called Cæsarea, another at Tallahassee, and another at Tampa Bay, where he thinks many slaves could be had.—*Parkman's "Pioneers of France in the New World."*

the French soon after attempted to establish a colony of French Protestants (Huguenots) on the eastern coast. "In the year 1562 a cloud of black and deadly portent was thickening over France ; none could pierce the future. The wild rage of fanaticism and hate ; friend grappling with friend, brother with brother, father with son ; altars profaned, hearthstones made desolate, the robes of Justice herself bedrenched with murder." In these days of gloom Admiral Coligny ordered Captain Jean de Ribeau (sometimes printed Ribault) to sail from France with two men-of-war and a large body of troops, to found a colony of French Protestants. After a voyage of two months he arrived on the coast of Florida, in latitude 30° north, near the site of the present city of St. Augustine. He found the coast low, and covered with lofty trees. He continued to sail along the coast until he came to the mouth of a beautiful river which he called May, from the month in which he made the discovery. He entered the mouth of this river, and was kindly received by the natives. He continued to proceed northerly along the coast as far as the river Jordan (probably the Combahee), where he finally resolved on planting his little colony, which has been since ascertained to be on Lemon Island, a few miles from the mouth of Port Royal (named Grand by Ribault) River, and took possession of the country in the name of his sovereign ; erected a pillar with the arms of France upon it, and built a fort, which he laid out, of a triangular form, in honor of Charles the Ninth, King of France, and which he called *Charlesfort* (Arx Carolina), and after leav-

ing twenty-six persons there, he returned to France. The narrative and particulars of this voyage, which was written in French by Kibault, on his return to France in 1562, is a rare document, and is now, for the first time, printed in this country. It is not known that more than two or three printed copies of it, printed in 1583, now exist. This expedition was followed by another from France, fitted out, in 1564, by the King, and commanded by René (de Goulaine) de Laudonniere, to relieve the colony at Charlesfort; but finding, on his arrival, the fort deserted, he determined to establish a colony on the River May (St. John's), where he selected a spot for a town on the south side of the river, about five or six miles from the sea, of which he took possession, and built a fort at what is now St. John's Bluff, which he named Fort Carolin, and erected a column of stone, engraved with the arms of France, as a sign of the jurisdiction of France. The remains of this fort have been since discovered. It was built of a triangular shape. Everywhere he went he found the natives living in huts built of wood and clay. In their carriage he found them proud and erect; and the comeliness of the females was not surpassed by those of Europe. Having now finished his fort, he turned his attention to searching for gold. This gave him an opportunity to become acquainted with the manners and customs of the natives. But not finding any mines, he resolved to return to France. At this period the legitimists of France and Spain, Charles the Ninth and Philip the Second, were at perfect peace; and the latter finding leisure

to turn his attention to the colonizing of Florida, he selected Don Pedro de Melendez Aviles to conduct the enterprise and to have the natives Christianized. He was vested with the dignity of a Spanish adelantado and the hereditary government of the Floridas. It was in the midst of the preparations of sailing to Florida that he heard the Huguenots (French Protestants) had made an establishment on the coast, and the Propaganda expedition immediately assumed all the characteristics of a proclaimed crusade. Sovereign and clergy crowded into the service. In the meantime, Ribault had arrived with a fleet to relieve the colony. In a few days after Melendez also arrived (on the 4th September, 1565) with a fleet of ships and troops, to take possession of Florida. Ribault now decided to attack the Spanish fleet, and from prayers they rushed to slaughter. Ribault went to sea to make the attack, but of a sudden a great tempest arose and arrested his designs, which drove his ships down the Florida coast, and gave the event an entirely new aspect to the fortunes of Melendez; who in the meantime attacked, with a land force, Fort Carolin, on the St. John's, and captured it, and hung all the French who manned it, "not as Frenchmen, but as heretics," except a few who were killed in the attack, and who made their escape by leaping the parapet, including M. Laudonniere, who afterwards returned to France in a vessel then lying at some distance down the river. The truth of this achievement cannot be questioned, as Melendez himself commemorated it by a monument.

In a few days after the fate of Ribault's fleet was known as being shipwrecked, with all on board, near Cape Canaveral (Corrientes), Melendez went in search of them at Matanzas Inlet, and on the assurance that they would be humanely treated, Ribault surrendered, and his men, as well as himself and officers, were afterwards taken, in small parties, behind the sand-hills of the coast, and massacred. Thus the whole colony, with those in the forts, were destroyed, and all France and England were indignant when informed of the infamous transaction. But the French King, Charles the Ninth, was apparently indifferent about it, and no public notice was taken of the matter till 1567, when the Chevalier Dominique de Gourgues—a character that would grace an epic poem—a Gascon gentleman, born at Mount Marson, who had served against the Spaniards in Italy, and who had retired to private life when the news came of the massacre of the French by the Spaniards in Florida, immediately fitted out two ships with troops, and attacked the Spaniards in the forts they had taken from the French in Florida, and hung the soldiery, “not as Spaniards, but as traitors, murderers, and robbers.” He afterwards demolished the forts, and returned to France. “Romantic as this exploit was, it lacked, however,” says Parkman, “the fulness of poetic justice, since the chief offender, Melendez, escaped him. He it was who remained to crush French Protestantism in America.”

In this volume will also be found a full statement, by the Chevalier de Gourgues himself, of this remarkable expedi-

tion against the Spaniards, in 1567-8, to revenge the massacre of the French colony; also a translation of the narrative of Francisco Lopez de Mendoza Grajales, chaplain of the expedition commanded by Melendez de Aviles, a most zealous hater of heretics. "He shows how the special Providence of God watched over the enterprise," says Brinton, "how divers wondrous miracles were at once proof and aid of the pious work, and how in sundry times and places God manifestly furthered the holy work of bloodshed. But the most valuable portion of the memoir is that in which he describes the founding of St. Augustine, entering into the movements of the Spaniards with more detail than Don Solis de las Meras;" and also the account of the massacre by Don Solis de las Meras, translated from Barcia, "*Ensayo Chronologico. Historia General de la Florida*," who hold up Melendez as a model of Christian virtue and valor. "The Spanish accounts of this massacre of the Protestants in Florida," says Brinton, in his "Notes on Florida," "though agreeing, as regards the facts, with those of the French, take a very different theoretical view. The massacre of the Protestants (Huguenots) is excused with cogent reasoning for exterminating this nest of pestilent unbelievers. Could they be ignorant that they were breaking the laws of nations by settling on Spanish soil?" The Council of the Indies argue the point, and prove the infringement in a still extant document appended to the *Compte-Rendu* of Guido de las Bazaes, which is translated and published in this volume, in English. But much more valuable is the memoir of Her-

nando D'Escalante Fontaneda, who boasts that he could speak four Indian languages, and who afterwards accompanied the expedition of the Adelantado Melendez de Aviles to Florida. "The geographical notices of this author," says Brinton, "are indeed valuable, particularly in locating the ancient Indian tribes of that country."

Among the original narratives published in this volume there is none of more importance than the history of M. D'Iberville's several expeditions made to colonize Louisiana, which is now for the first time translated and printed in any language, giving an account of all that took place, as well as a description of the country, and manners and customs of the Indian tribes of that country; establishing important data which are not to be found elsewhere.

And should this volume meet with the encouragement expected, it will be followed by translations of other original manuscripts, obtained from the archives of France and Spain, of important historical interest, not to be found in print, showing the gradual progress made by Louisiana and Florida from Colonial dependence to Free and Independent States.

Memoir

OF

ROBERT CAVALIER, SIEUR DE LA SALLE,

ADDRESSED TO

MONSEIGNEUR DE SEIGNELAY,

ON THE

DISCOVERIES MADE BY HIM BY ORDER OF HIS MAJESTY LOUIS XIV., KING
OF FRANCE.

TRANSLATED FROM A COPY OF THE ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPT DEPOSITED IN THE MARINE
DEPARTMENT, PARIS.



MONSEIGNEUR COLBERT was of opinion, with regard to the various propositions which were made in 1678, that it was important for the glory and service of the King to discover a port for his vessels in the Gulf of Mexico.

The Sieur de la Salle offered to undertake the discovery, at his own expense, if it should please his Majesty to grant to him the seigniory of the government of the forts which he should erect on his route, together with certain privileges, and an indemnification for the great outlay which the expedition would impose on him. Such grant was made to him by letters patent of the 12th of May, 1678.*

* *Letters Patent Granted to Robert Cavalier, Sieur de la Salle, 1678.*

Louis, by the Grace of God, King of France and of Navarre, To our dear and well-beloved Robert Cavalier, Sieur de la Salle, greeting :

We have received with favor the very humble petition which has been pre-

In order to execute this commission, he abandoned all his own pursuits which did not relate to it. He did not omit anything necessary for success. Notwithstanding dangerous sickness, considerable losses, and other misfortunes which he suffered, which would have discouraged any other person not possessed of the same zeal with himself, and the same

sented to us in your name, to permit you to endeavor to discover the western part of New France; and we have consented to this proposal the more willingly because there is nothing we have more at heart than the discovery of this country, through which it is probable a road may be found to penetrate to Mexico; and because your diligence in clearing lands which we granted to you by the decree of our Council of the 13th May, 1675, and by letters patent of the same date, to form habitations upon the same lands, and to put Fort Frontenac in a good state of defense, the seigniory and government whereof we likewise granted to you, afford us every reason to hope that you will succeed to our satisfaction, and to the advantage of our subjects of the said country.

For these reasons, and others thereunto moving us, we have permitted, and do hereby permit you, by these presents, signed by our hand, to endeavor to discover the western part of New France, and for the execution of this enterprise to construct forts wherever you shall deem it necessary; which it is our will that you shall hold on the same terms and conditions as Fort Frontenac, agreeably and conformably to our said Letters Patent of the 13th March, 1675, which we have confirmed, as far as is needful, and hereby confirm by these presents. And it is our pleasure that they be executed according to their form and tenor.

To accomplish this and everything mentioned we give you full powers; on condition, however, that you shall finish this enterprise within five years, in default of which these presents shall be void and of none effect; that you carry on no trade whatever with the savages called *Outaouacs*, and others, who bring their beaver-skins and other peltries to Montreal; and that the whole shall be done at your expense and that of your company, to which we have granted the privilege of the trade in buffalo-skins. And we command the *Sieur de Frontenac*, our Governor and Lieutenant-General, and the *Sieur Duchesne* Intendant, and the other officers who compose the supreme Council of the said country, to affix their signatures to these presents: for such is our pleasure.

industry in the performance of the undertaking, he made five voyages, under extraordinary hardships, extending over five thousand leagues, most commonly on foot, through snow and water, almost without rest, during five years.

Given at St. Germain-en-Laye, this 12th day of May, 1678, and our reign the thirty-fifth.

(Signed)

LOUIS.

By the King,

COLBERT.

Second Letters Patent Granted Sieur de la Salle.

Louis, by the grace of God, King of France and of Navarre, greeting:

Having resolved to cause some expeditions to be undertaken in North America, to subject to our dominion divers savage tribes, and to convey to them the light of the faith and of the Gospel, we have been of the opinion that we could not make a better choice than of Sieur de la Salle to command, in our name, all the Frenchmen and Indians whom we will employ for the execution of the orders we have entrusted unto him. For these and other reasons *Us* moving, and being, moreover, well informed of his affection and fidelity for our service, We have, by these presents, signed by our own hand, constituted and ordained, and do commission and ordain, the said Sieur de la Salle, to command under our authority, as well in the country which will be subject anew to our dominion in North America, from Fort St. Louis on the Illinois River unto New Biscay (Texas), as well among the French and Indians whom he will employ in the expedition we have entrusted to his care, cause them to live in union and concord the one with the other; keep the soldiers in good order, and police, according to our rules; appoint governors and special commanders in the places he shall think proper, until it shall be by us otherwise ordered; maintain trade and traffic, and generally to do and exercise for us in the said country all that shall appertain to the office of commandant, and enjoy its powers, honors, authorities, prerogatives, franchises, liberties, wages, rights, fruits, profits, revenues and emoluments, during our pleasure: to execute which we have given, and do give, unto you power, by these presents, whereby we command all our said subjects and soldiers to acknowledge, obey, and hear you in things relating to the present power. For such is our pleasure.

In witness whereof we have caused our privy seal to be affixed to these presents.

Given at Versailles the 14th April, 1684.

By the King,

(Signed)

LOUIS.

He has traversed more than six hundred leagues of unknown country, among many barbarian and cannibal nations (Anthropophages), against whom he was obliged to fight almost daily, although he was accompanied by only thirty-six men; having no other consolation before him than a hope of bringing to an end an enterprise which he believed would be agreeable to his Majesty.

After having happily executed this design, he hopes *Monseigneur* will be pleased to continue in the title and government of the fort which he has had erected in the country of his discovery, where he has placed several French settlers, and has brought together many savage nations, amounting to more than eighteen thousand in number, who have built houses there, and sown much ground, to commence a powerful colony.

This is the only fruit of an expedition of one hundred and fifty thousand écus, the only means of satisfying his creditors, who advanced to him the aid which he required, after very considerable losses. He believes that he has sufficiently established the truth of his discovery by the official instrument, signed by all his companions, which was placed last year in the hands of Monseigneur Colbert by the Count de Frontenac; as also by a report drawn up by the Rev. Father Zenobe Membre,* missionary, who accompanied him during

* Father Zenobe Membre was the faithful and devoted friend of Cavalier de la Salle, and to whom we are indebted for an account of what took place in Louisiana and Texas from 1682 to 1687.

He was the cousin of Father Christian Le Clercq, who afterwards published

this voyage, and who is at this time guardian of Bapaume; by the testimony of three persons who accompanied him, and whom he has brought with him to France, and who are now in Paris; and by the testimony of many other persons who came this year from Canada, and who have seen one Vital, sent by M. de la Barre to collect information respecting him on the spot, and who has confirmed the truth of the discovery.

All these proofs are sufficient to contradict whatever may have been written to the contrary by persons who have no knowledge of the country where the discovery was made,

his journal in the "Etablissement de la Foy." He was first sent to Canada as a missionary in 1675, from which time till 1678 he was employed in missionary and other labors, until his departure in 1678 to Fort Frontenac, where he joined M. de la Salle to go to Mackinaw, and from thence to Fort Crevecoeur, in Illinois, where he labored assiduously with Father Gabriel, to convert the heathen, till the autumn of 1680. In the spring of 1681, he descended the Mississippi with M. de la Salle, to the Gulf of Mexico; and on their return, he proceeded, at the request of M. de la Salle, to France, in 1682, to lay before the King and Court, the result of his expedition.

After fulfilling his mission at the court of Louis XIV., he became warden of the Recollects at Bapaume, then in the Spanish Netherlands, and remained there until he was appointed, at the request of M. de la Salle, Superior of the Missionaries (Anastase Douay, Maxime Le Clercq, Denis Marquet, Cavalier, Chedeville, and Majulte) who accompanied the expedition to Louisiana (Texas), and having reached that country in safety, he afterwards began a mission among the friendly Indians, with Fathers Cavalier and Le Clercq. The colony, after the departure of M. de la Salle in search of the Colbert (Mississippi) in 1687, was attacked and cut to pieces by the Indian tribes of the country; priest and soldier, husband and wife, old and young, all of whom perished, except a few who made their escape and those who had gone with La Salle.

The Spanish account of the Massacre of the colony of La Salle on the Lavacca, Texas, is related by Barcia in his work, entitled "*Ensayo Chronologico Historica de la Florida*," pp. 294-8.

Texas, at this time, was without a boundary, and almost without a name, except

never having been there. But he hopes to remove all these prejudices, by carrying into execution the design which he entertains, under the favor of Monseigneur, of returning to the country of his discovery by the mouth of the river, in the Gulf of Mexico; since he must have lost his senses, if without being certain of the means of arriving where he proposes, he exposed not only his own fortune, and that of his friends, to manifest destruction, but his own honor and reputation to the unavoidable disgrace of having imposed on the confidence of his *Majesty* and of his ministers.

Of this there is less likelihood, because he has no interest to disguise the truth, since, if Monseigneur does not think it convenient to undertake any enterprise in that direction, he will not ask anything from his Majesty until his return from the Gulf of Mexico, confirming the truth of what he has alleged. With reference to the assertion that his voyage would

Louisiana. The Spaniards had not yet penetrated the country east of the *Rio Grande del Norte*, below Paso del Norte; and La Salle was endeavoring to make France believe he was in the vicinity of the mouth of the Mississippi, and that Texas was a part of Louisiana. The country no doubt belonged to France, by right of discovery and settlement as well as by national law. The Spaniards were now, however, aroused from their supineness by the vigor of Louis XIV., who had sent La Salle to take possession and found a colony; and who afterwards, in 1712, granted a charter to Anthony Crozat for the whole of Louisiana, as far as the Rio Grande del Norte, who had in view the working of the mines in Texas, and a profitable trade with the northeastern provinces of Mexico. (See *Charter in first series of the Historical Collections of Louisiana*, vol. 3, pp. 38-42.) The colony in Texas was however commenced by M. de la Salle under the sanction of his Sovereign, notwithstanding the monstrous pretensions of Spain, which laid the foundation of a controversy that was not finally closed until the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, made between the United States and Mexico on the 2d February, 1848.

produce no profit to France, he replies, that if he proposed it as a thing to be done, and on that account sought for assistance to undertake the enterprise, or reward after having succeeded in it, its usefulness would deserve consideration; and being here only in order to render an account of the orders he received, he does not think himself to be responsible but for their execution, it not being his duty to examine the intentions of Monseigneur Colbert. Having, however, observed great advantages which both France and Canada may derive from his discovery, he believes that he owes this detail to the glory of the king, the welfare of the kingdom, to the honor of the ministry of Monseigneur, and to the memory of him who employed him upon this expedition. He does this the more willingly, as his requests will not expose him to a suspicion of self-interest; and as the influence which he has acquired over the people of that continent places him in a position to execute what he proposes, the things which he states will find greater credit in the minds of those who shall investigate them.

Firstly, the service of God may be established there by the preaching of the Gospel to numerous docile and settled (*sedentaires*) nations who will be found more willing to receive it than those of other parts of America, upon account of their greater civilization.

Secondly, we can effect there for the glory of our King very important conquests, both by land and sea; or, if peace should oblige us to delay the execution of them, we might, without giving any cause of complaint, make preparations to

render us certain of success, whenever it shall please the King to command it.

The provinces which may be seized are very rich in silver mines (Texas and New Mexico), they adjoin the river Colbert (Mississippi), they are far removed from succor, they are open everywhere on the side on which we should attack them, and are defended by only a small number of persons, so sunk in effeminacy and indolence as to be incapable of enduring the fatigue of wars of this description.

The Sieur de la Salle binds himself to have this enterprise ripe for success within one year after his arrival on the spot, and asks only for this purpose, one vessel, some army and munitions, the transport maintenance, and pay of two hundred men during one year. Afterwards he will maintain them from the produce of the country, and supply their other wants through the credit and confidence which he has obtained among these nations, and the experience which he has had of those regions. He will give a more detailed account of this proposal when it shall please Monseigneur to direct him.

Thirdly, the river is navigable for more than a hundred leagues for ships, and for barks for more than five hundred leagues to the north, and for more than eight hundred from east to west. Its three mouths are as many harbors, capable of receiving every description of ships; where those of his Majesty will always find a secure retreat, and all that may be necessary to refit and revictual, which would be a great economy to his Majesty, who would no longer find it necessary to send the things needed from France at a great ex-

pense, the country producing a greater part of them. We could even build there as many ships as we should desire, the materials for building and rigging being in abundance, with the exception of iron, which may be discovered.*

This newly-discovered country has besides its other advantages, that of the soil, which being well timbered, forms a campaign of great fertility and extent. The mildness of the climate is favorable to the raising of cattle, which causes great expense when the winter is severe. There is a prodigious number of buffaloes, stags, hinds, bears, wolves and foxes. Hides and furs in the greatest abundance are to be had for almost nothing. There are cotton, sugar, cochineal, indigo, entire forests of mulberry trees, apple, orange and plum trees, vines, salt, slate, and coal.

It will not be necessary to import from Europe horses, oxen, swine, fowls, or turkeys, which are to be found in every part of the country; nor to import provisions for the colonists, who would quickly find subsistence.

Whilst other colonies are open and exposed to the descents of foreigners by as many points as their coasts are washed by the sea, whereby they are placed under a necessity of having many persons to watch these points of access; one single post established towards the lower part of the river will be sufficient to protect a territory extending more than eight hundred leagues from north to south and still farther from east to west, because its banks are only accessible

* This discovery has since been made and ascertained that north-western Texas abounds in the richest deposits both of iron, coal, and limestone.

from the sea through the mouth of the river, the remainder of the coast being impenetrable inland for more than twenty leagues, in consequence of woods, swamps, and bogs, through which it is impossible to march, and this may have been the reason why the exploration of that river was neglected by the Spaniards, if they have had any knowledge of it.* This country is well defended in the interior against the irruptions of neighboring Europeans, by great chains of mountains, stretching from east to west, from which the branches of the river take their source.

It is true that the country is more open towards the southwest, where it borders on Mexico, where the very

*The honor of the first discovery of the Mississippi (Colbert) River in 1519, belongs to the Spaniards, which Navarrete, the Spanish historian, conclusively establishes, in his work entitled "*Collecion de los viages y descubrimientos*," etc., vol. 3, p. 64: "The exciting news of the conquest of Mexico by Cortez reached the Spanish governors and settlers of the Antilles, when several of the '*Conquistadors*' hastened to explore the northern shores of the Gulf of Mexico; and that Don Alonzo Alvarez Pineda, an officer in the service of Don Francisco de Garay, governor of Jamaica, surveyed a great part of this northern coast, in 1519, and discovered the Mississippi River, which he named '*Rio del Espiritu Santo*,' and afterwards inscribed the name on their maps and charts. Two expeditions were afterwards undertaken in that direction; one by Pamfilo de Narvaez, and the other, the most important of all, by Hernando de Soto, in 1539-41 (see '*Historical Coll. of Louisiana*,' vol. 2, pp. 107-168), and which was well known to him under that name when he set out to explore Florida, and after reaching and crossing it at (it is supposed) or near the present city of Memphis, and extending his explorations farther up the river, probably as far as the present city of Cairo, and seeing its great affluents pouring in on one side and on the other, coming, as he justly supposed, from the territory of an immense continent reaching to the Pacific Ocean, he named it in presence of his army '*El Rio Grande del Florida*,' which it long retained in the writings of Spanish historians."

navigable river, the Sabloniere (Red River of Louisiana), which is one of the branches of the Colbert (Mississippi) is only separated by a forest of three to four days' journey in depth. But besides that the Spaniards there are feeble and far removed from the assistance of Mexico, and from that which they could expect by sea, this country is likewise protected from their insults by a great number of warlike savages* who close this passage to them, and who, constantly engaged with them in cruel wars, would certainly inflict greater evil, when sustained by some French, whose more mild and more humane mode of governing will prove a great means for the preservation of the peace made between them and the *Sieur de la Salle*.

To maintain this establishment, which is the only one required in order to obtain all the advantages mentioned, two hundred men only are needed, who would also construct the fortifications and buildings, and effect the clearings necessary for the sustenance of the colony; after which there would be no further expenditure. The goodness of the country will induce the settlers to remain there willingly. The ease in which they will live will make them attend to the cultivation of the soil, and to the production of the articles of commerce, and will remove all desire to imitate the inhabitants

* The French who came with *La Salle* to Texas were so unacquainted with Indian languages and their mode of spelling them, that it is difficult to identify them with the present tribes. Take for example the following:

Carankawaes,	Kironnonas,	Ceries Assonys,	A-Simaes Asinaes,
Comanches.	Cannensis.	Vidais.	Bedais.

of New France, who are obliged to seek subsistence in the woods under great fatigues, in hunting for peltries, which are their principal resource. These vagrant courses, common in New France, will be easily prevented in the new country, because, as its rivers are all navigable, there will be a great facility for the savages to come to our settlements, and for us to go to them, in boats which can ascend all the branches of the river.

If foreigners anticipate us they will deprive France of all the advantages to be expected from the success of the enterprise. They will complete the ruin of New France, which they already hem in through Virginia, Pennsylvania, New England, and the Hudson's Bay. They will not fail to ascend the river* as high as possible, and establish colonies

* The priority of the discovery of the Mississippi by Cavalier de la Salle, over Marquette and Joliet in 1672, is intimated in the discovery of recent manuscripts. In 1669 De la Salle had gone in quest of the route to China by the Ohio, which he believed ran westward to the Pacific Ocean. Abandoned by his companions, he was only enabled to descend the Ohio to its falls; but in the following year, proceeding to the northwest by the great lakes, he had unexpectedly discovered a great unknown river, the Mississippi, the rival of the St. Lawrence (1670-72), of which his enemies attempted to deprive him of the honor of the discovery. As intelligent as intrepid, as soon as he perceived the Mississippi ran southeast to the Gulf of Mexico, he proposed to himself a new aim without abandoning the old one, and proposed to France to open a double road to the two oceans. The great Colbert eagerly seized this idea and resolved to found a naval and military settlement in the Gulf of Mexico, which would secure to France against Spain the free navigation of these seas, and the communication of Canada with the West Indies. Cavalier de la Salle, therefore, connected by a chain of posts the basins of the St. Lawrence and the Mississippi, and sent, from 1679-80, the Recollect Henepin, to ascend the Mississippi to its source; and afterwards he embarked on this river, February 2, 1682, and floated down its current to its

in the places nearest to the savages who now bring their furs to Montreal—they will make constant inroads into the countries of the latter, which could not be repressed by ordinances of his Majesty. They have already made several attempts* to discover this passage, and they will not neglect it now that the whole world knows that it is discovered, since

mouth, and on the 9th of April took possession, in the name of Louis XIV., and gave to the basin of the Mississippi the name of *Louisiana*. (See *Proces Verbal*, published in this volume, including a description of the country bordering on this great river.) From thence he returned to Quebec through a thousand obstacles and dangers, raised not by the jealousy of the Spaniards or the English, but by that of his own countrymen. New France extended thenceforth, at least nominally, from the Gulf of St. Lawrence to the Gulf of Mexico, enclosing between its two great fluvial basins the English colonies.

The intrepid explorer of Louisiana was not destined, however, to plant a successful colony there. He returned to France in 1683, and obtained of the King a few vessels and two hundred men to reconnoiter by sea the mouth of the Mississippi (Colbert) which he had discovered, to found a colony there, and attempt to wrest from the Spaniards the mines of New Biscay, but the jealousy of de Beaujeu, the commander of the expedition, compelled him to land, not at the entrance of the Mississippi but at a bay (St. Bernard or Matagorda) now within the boundaries of Texas. And after causing the failure of the expedition by his obstinacy, he abandoned and veritably betrayed him, and as Cavalier de la Salle was attempting to reach the Mississippi by land, he was massacred on the head waters of the Trinity River, Texas, by one of his rebellious comrades, 1687.

* The English assert that Colonel Wood, of Virginia, spent at different times, from 1654 to 1664, several years in the discovery of the Mississippi River, which is not improbable, as Daniel Cox, in his account of Louisiana, and who sent an expedition there of two ships of war to take possession, in 1698, which he claimed as a grant from the English government, and described in his work on Louisiana, from memoirs and journals kept by persons who had been sent there, which is not improbable. It is evident his vessels had reached and explored the lower Mississippi before the French expedition commanded by M. D'Iberville had entered it. (*See new series of Historical Collections of Louisiana and Florida*, pp. 59-60.)

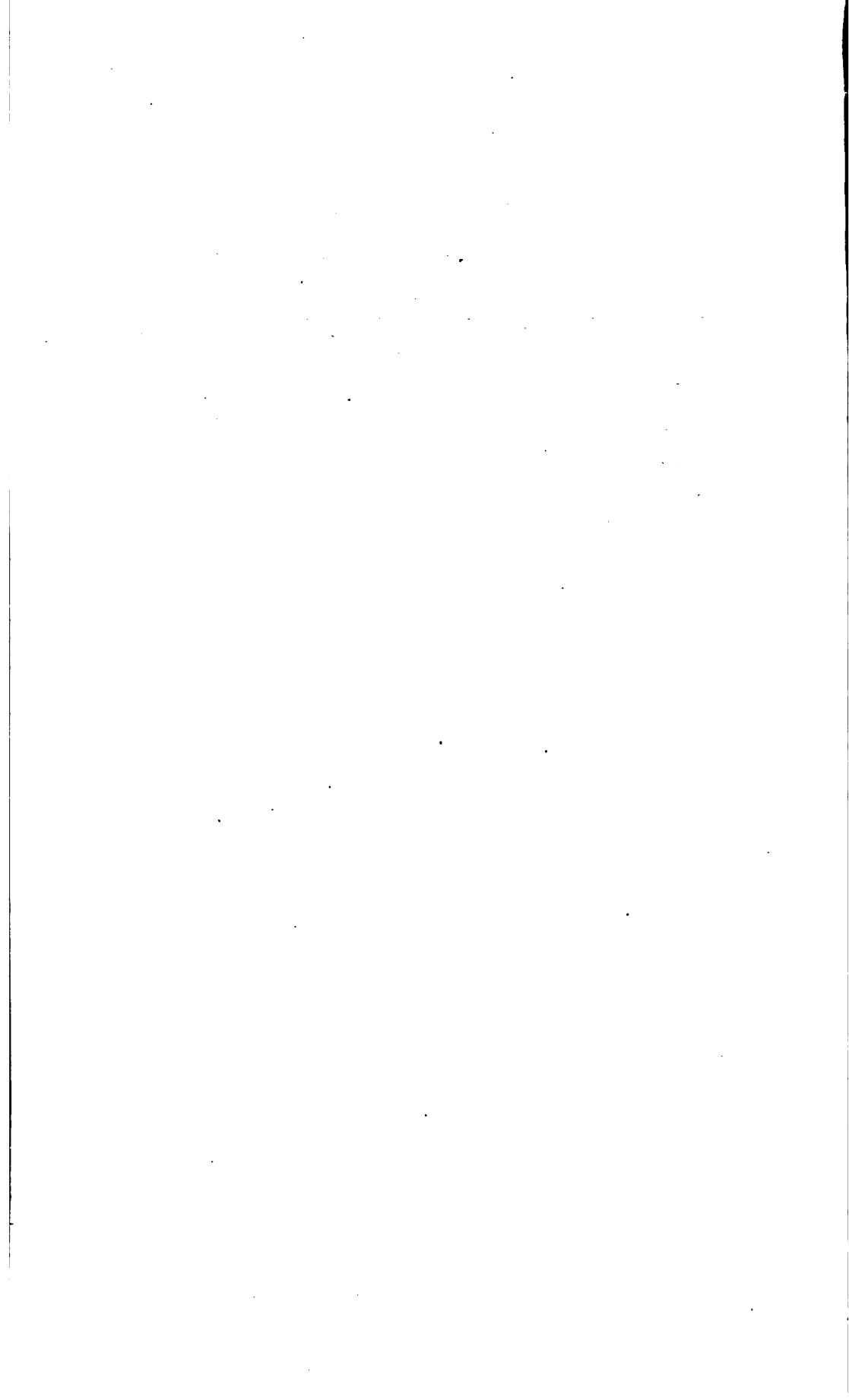
the Dutch have published in their newspapers upwards of a year ago.

Nothing more is required than to maintain the possession taken by the Sieur de la Salle, in order to deprive them of such a desire, and to place ourselves in a position to undertake enterprises against them glorious to the arms of his Majesty, who will probably derive the greatest benefits from the duties he will levy there as in our other colonies. Whatever has been imagined respecting the mud and breakers which have been supposed to stop the mouth of the Colbert or Mississippi (Mechas-cebe), is easily disproved by the experience of those who have been there (the Spaniards), and who found the entrance fine, deep, and capable of admitting the largest vessels. It would appear that the land, or *levées de terre*, are covered in many parts with trees growing along the channel of the river very far into the sea; and where the sea is deep they would not be suspected, because even the outlets or creeks to the sea are tolerably deep at that distance, and besides there is every appearance that the current of the river has formed these kind of dikes by shoving on both sides the mud with which the winds fill the neighboring creeks, because those causeways are to the right and left of the river, forming for it a bed, as it were, by this separation.

In the "Memoir" respecting New Biscay,* the difficulty

* New Biscay, the most northern province of Mexico in the seventeenth century, was situated between 25° and 27° 30' north latitude, and from this province the Indians extended themselves to the Seignelay (Arkansas) River.

has been dealt with respecting the constancy of the Indians. They know too well how important it is to them to live on good terms with us to fail in their fidelity, in which they have never been known to fail in New France. Such an event is still less to be apprehended from those who are obedient and submissive to their chiefs, whose will it is sufficient to gain in order to keep the rest in obedience.



Narrative

OF THE

EXPEDITION OF M. CAVALIER DE LA SALLE*

TO EXPLORE THE (MISSISSIPPI) COLBERT RIVER, AND TAKE POSSESSION OF LOUISIANA, UNDER THE ORDERS AND LETTERS PATENT OF LOUIS XIV., KING OF FRANCE, IN 1682.

TRANSLATED FROM A COPY OF THE ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPT (PROCES VERBAL) DEPOSITED IN THE ARCHIVES OF THE "MINISTÈRE DE LA MARINE ET DES COLONIES," PARIS.



ACQUES DE LA METAIRIE, notary of Fort Frontenac in New France, commissioned to exercise the said function of notary during the voyage to Louisiana, in North America, by M. de la Salle, Governor of Fort Frontenac, for the King, and commandant of the said discovery by the commission of his Majesty, given at St. Germain, on the 12th May, 1678.

"To all those to whom these presents shall come, greet-

* According to ancient records, De la Salle's name in full was written René Robert Cavalier, Sieur de la Salle. La Salle was the name of an estate near Rouen, France, belonging to the Cavaliers. The wealthy French burghers often distinguished the various members of their families by designations borrowed from landed estates. He had an elder brother in Canada, the Abbe Jean Cavalier, a priest of St. Sulpice.

ing:—Know that having been requested by the said *Sieur de la Salle* to deliver to him an act, signed by us and the witnesses therein named, of possession by him taken of the country of Louisiana, near the three mouths of the river Colbert (Mississippi), in the Gulf of Mexico, in the month of April, A. D. 1682.

“ In the name of the most high, mighty, invincible, and victorious Prince, Louis the Great, *by the grace of God King of France and of Navarre*, fourteenth of that name, and of his heirs, and the successor of his crown, we, the aforesaid notary, have delivered the said act to the said *Sieur de la Salle*, the tenor whereof follows.

“ On the 27th of December, 1681, *M. de la Salle* departed on foot to join *M. de Tonty*, who had preceded him with his followers and all his equipage forty leagues into the *Miamis* country,* where the ice on the river Chicagou, in the country of the *Mascoutens*, had arrested his progress, and where, when the ice became stronger, they used sledges to drag the baggage, the canoes, and a wounded Frenchman through the whole length of this river, and on the *Illinois*, a distance of seventy leagues.

“ At length, all the *French* being together, on the 25th of January, 1682, we came to Pimiteoui.† From that place, the river being frozen only in some parts, we continued our

* The *Miamis* Indians were settled, when Marquette explored the Mississippi River, at the south end of Lake Michigan.

† Lake Pimiteoui (Peoria, on the *Illinois* River), where *M. de la Salle* had previously built forts St. Louis and Crèvecoeur.

route to the River Colbert (Mississippi *), sixty leagues or thereabouts from Pimiteoui, and ninety leagues or thereabouts from Pimiteoui (Peoria) to the village of the *Illinois*.† We reached the banks of the River Colbert on the 6th of February, and remained there until the 13th, waiting for the Indians, whose progress had been impeded by the ice. On the 13th, all having assembled, we renewed our voyage, being twenty-two Frenchmen, carrying arms, accompanied by the Reverend Father Zenobe Membré‡ and one of the Recollect missionaries, and followed by eighteen New England savages and several women, Algonquins, Otchepóse, and Hurons.

“On the fourteenth, we arrived at the village of Maroa,§ consisting of a hundred cabins, without inhabitants. Proceeding about one hundred leagues down the River Colbert, we went ashore to hunt, on the 26th of February. A Frenchman was lost in the woods,|| and reported to M. de la Salle, that a large number of savages had been seen in the vicinity. Thinking that they might have seized the Frenchman, and in

* The name of Colbert was given to this river by Governor Frontenac of Canada in honor of the great French minister Colbert, who died soon after its exploration by Marquette and Joliet in 1673.

† The present city of Peoria is not upon the site of the old Indian village or mission of Peoria, but upon the old site of La Villa de Maillet.

‡ Father Zenobe was afterward massacred by the Indians at Fort St. Louis, on St. Bernard's (now Matagorda) Bay, Texas, in 1689.

§ Maroa or Tamaroa, an Illinois village, where Cahokia was afterwards built.

|| The first Chickasaw bluff where Fort Prudhomme was built by the Frenchmen, and subsequently Fort Panmure by the English, and San Fernando de Barrancas by the Spaniards.

order to observe these savages, he marched through the woods during two days, but without finding them, because they had all been frightened by the guns which they had heard, and had fled.

“ Returning to camp, he sent in every direction French and Indians on the search, with orders, if they fell in with the savages, to take them alive, without injury, that he might gain from them intelligence of this Frenchman. Gabriel Barbic, with two savages, having met five of the Chickasaw nation, captured two of them. They were received with all possible kindness, and after he had explained to them that he was anxious about a Frenchman, who had been lost, and that he only detained them that he might rescue him from their hands if he was really among them and afterwards make with them an advantageous peace (the French doing good to everybody), they assured him that they had not seen the man whom we sought, but that peace would be received with the greatest satisfaction. Presents were then given to them, and, as they signified that one of their villages was not more than half a day's journey distant, M. de la Salle set out the next day to go thither ; but after traveling till night, and having remarked that they often contradicted themselves in their discourse, he declined to go any farther without more provisions. Having pressed them to tell the truth, they confessed that it was yet four days' journey to their villages ; and perceiving that M. de la Salle was angry at having been deceived, they proposed that one of them should remain with him, while the other carried the

news to the village, whence the elders would come and join them four days' journey below that place. The said *Sieur de la Salle* returned to the camp with one of these Chickasaws, and the French whom we sought having been found, he continued his voyage, and passed the River *Chepontias*,* and the village of the *Metsigameas* (*Mitchigamea*).† The fog, which was very thick, prevented his finding the passage which led to the rendezvous proposed by the Chickasaws.

“On the 12th of March, we arrived at the *Kapaha*‡ village, on the Arkansas. Having established a peace there, and taken possession, we passed, on the 15th, another of their villages, situated on the border of their river,§ and also two others, farther off in the depth of the forest, and arrived at that of *Imaha*, the largest village of this nation, where peace was confirmed, and where the chief acknowledged that the village belonged to his Majesty. Two Arkansas embarked with *M. de la Salle* to conduct him to the *Talusas* (*Taensas*), their allies, about fifty leagues distant, who inhabit eight villages upon the borders of a little lake. On the 19th

* Supposed to be the St. Francis River.

† A warlike tribe that lived on a lake of that name, near the River St. Francis.

‡ This village was situated on a high hill, about half a league from the mouth of the Arkansas River. Here *La Salle* first took formal possession of the country, and drew from the chief an acknowledgment of fealty to Louis XIV., and a cross raised bearing the arms of France.

§ When the French first discovered the Akansa (Arkansas River), the nation or tribes on the Akansa were known as, 1st, the *Kapaha* (*Quapaws*) 2d, the *Tongenga* or *Topingas*, 3d, the *Toriman*, 4th, the *Atotchasi*, *Osotonoy*, *Sauthouis*, *Otsotchove*, a remnant of whom still remain, and are known as the *Quapaws*.

we passed the villages of Tourika (Tonicas), Yasou (Yazoo), and Koroas; but as they did not border on the river, and were hostile to the Akansas and Taensas, we did not stop there.

“ On the 20th we arrived at the Taensas, by whom we were exceedingly well received, and who supplied us with a large quantity of provisions. M. de Tonty passed a night at one of their villages, where there were about seven hundred men carrying arms, assembled in the place. Here again a peace was concluded.* A peace was also made with the Koroas, whose chief came there from the principal village of the Koroas, ten leagues distant from that of the Natchez. The two chiefs accompanied M. de la Salle to the banks of the river. Here the Koroa chief embarked with him (on Easter Sunday, the 29th of March), to conduct him to his village, where peace was again concluded with this nation, which, besides the five other villages of which it is composed, is allied to nearly forty others. On the 31st we passed the village of the Oumas without knowing it, on account of the fog, and its distance from the river.

“ On the 3d of April, at about ten o'clock in the morning, we saw, among the canes, thirteen or fourteen canoes. M. de la Salle landed, with several of his people. Footprints

* The Taensas were first described by Father Zenobe Membre, who accompanied La Salle in this expedition, and from this time forward were the true friends of the French. They spoke the same language, and had the same manners, habits, and religious customs of the Natchez, of which, Le Page du Pratz says, they were a branch.

were seen, and also savages, a little lower down, who were fishing, and who fled precipitately as soon as they discovered us. Others of our party then went ashore on the borders of a marsh formed by the inundations of the river. M. de la Salle sent two Frenchmen, and then two savages, to reconnoiter, who reported that there was a village (Quinipisas) not far off, but that the whole of this marsh, covered with canes, must be crossed to reach it; that they had been assailed with a shower of arrows by the inhabitants of the town, who had not dared to engage with them in the marsh, but who had then withdrawn, although neither the French nor the savages with them had fired on account of the orders they had received not to fire, unless in pressing danger. Presently, we heard a drum beat in the village, and the cries and howlings with which these barbarians are accustomed to make attacks. We waited three or four hours, and as we could not encamp in this marsh, and seeing no one, and no longer hearing anything, we embarked, an hour afterwards, to go to the village of Maheoula,* lately destroyed, and containing dead bodies, and marks of blood. Two leagues below this place we encamped. We continued our voyage until the 6th, when we discovered three channels, by which the River Colbert discharges itself into the sea. We landed on the bank of the most western channel, about three leagues from its mouth. On the 7th, M. de la

* Probably the village of the Tangibao, which had been destroyed by the Quinipisas.

Salle * went to reconnoiter the shores of the neighboring sea (Gulf of Mexico), and M. de Tonty likewise examined the great middle channel. They found these three outlets beautiful, large, and deep.

“On the 8th we reascended the river, a little above its confluence with the sea, to find a dry place beyond the reach of inundation. The elevation of the north pole was here about 27°. Here we prepared a column and a cross, and to the said column were affixed the arms of France with this inscription :

**Louis Le Grand, Roi de France et de
Navarre, Règne ; Le Neuvième
Avril, 1682.**

The whole party under arms chanted the *Te Deum*, the *Exaudiat*, the *Domine Salvum fac Regem* ; and then, after a salute of fire-arms and cries of *Vive le Roi*, the column was erected by M. de la Salle, who, standing near it, said with a loud voice, in French : ‘In the name of the most high, mighty, invincible, and victorious Prince, LOUIS THE GREAT, by the grace of God, King of France and Navarre, fourteenth of that name, this ninth day of April, one thousand six hundred and eighty-two, I, in virtue of the commission of his Majesty (Louis XIV.) which I hold in my hand, and

* “Sieur de la Salle,” says Father Membre, “took the western, the Sieur Dautray the southern, and M. de Tonty the middle channel. They found the water brackish, but after advancing two leagues into the gulf, it became perfectly salt.”

which may be seen by all whom it may concern, have taken, and do now take in the name of his Majesty and of his successors to the crown, possession of this country of Louisiana, the seas, harbors, ports, bays, adjacent straits; and all the nations, people, provinces, cities, towns, villages, mines, minerals, fisheries, streams, and rivers comprised in the extent of Louisiana, from the mouth of the great River St. Louis on the eastern side, otherwise called Ohio, Alighinsipou (Alleghany), or Chickagoua, and this with the consent of the Chouanons (Shawanoes),* Chicachas (Chickasaws), and other people dwelling therein, with whom we have made alliance; as also along the River Colbert or Mississippi, and rivers which discharge themselves therein, from its source; beyond the country of the Kious (Sioux) or Nadouessions, and this with their consent, and with the consent of the Montantees, Illinois, Mesigameas (Metchigamias), Akansas, Natches, and Koroas, which are the most considerable nations† dwelling therein, with whom also we have made alliance

* The Shawanoes were a wandering nation, and as early as 1660 occupied the country on the Tennessee and Cumberland Rivers, and after that emigrated to the Wabash River country. The Chickasaws were a powerful, warlike nation, and occupied the country within the present States of Kentucky and Tennessee.

† "These tribes," says Father Zenobe Membre, "though savage, seem generally of very good disposition, affable, obliging, and docile. They are very different from our Canada Indians in their houses, dress, manners, and customs, and even in the form of their head, for theirs is very flat. They have large public squares, games, and assemblies. They seem very lively and active, and their chiefs possess all the authority. They have their valets and officers, who follow and serve them everywhere. They have also axes and guns, which they procure from the Spaniards sixty-five or more leagues off."

either by ourselves or by others in our behalf; as far as the mouth at the sea or Gulf of Mexico, about the 27th degree of the elevation of the north pole, and also to the mouth of the river of Palms (Rio de Palmas*); upon the assurance which we have received from all these nations that we are the first Europeans who have descended or ascended the River Colbert, hereby protesting against all those who may in future undertake to invade any or all of these countries, people, or lands above described to the prejudice of the right of his Majesty acquired by the consent of the nations herein named, of which and all that can be needed, I hereby take to witness those who hear me, and demand an act of the notary as required by law.'

" To which the whole assembly responded with shouts of *Vive le Roi* and with salutes of fire-arms. Moreover, the said Sieur de la Salle caused to be buried at the foot of the tree to which the cross was attached a leaden plate, on one side of which were engraved the arms of France and the following Latin inscription :

LVDVICVS MAGNVS REGNAT.

NONO APRILIS CIO IOC LXXXII.

ROBERTVS CAVELIER, CVM DOMINO DE TONTY, LEGATO
R. P. ZENOBIO MEMBRÈ, RECOLLECTO, ET VICINTI GALLIS,
PRIMVS HOC FLVMEN, INDE AB ILINEORVM PAGO, ENAVIGAVIT,
EJVSQUE OSTIVM FECIT PERVIVM, NONO APRILIS ANNI

CIO IOC LXXXII.

* The Rio de Palmas is about one hundred leagues from the River Panuco (Tampico), Mexico.

“ After which the Sieur de la Salle said that his Majesty, as eldest Son of the Church, would annex no country to his crown without making it his chief care to establish the Christian religion therein, and that its symbol must now be planted, which was accordingly done at once by erecting a cross, before which the *Vexilla* and the *Domine Salvum fac Regem* were sung, whereupon the ceremony was concluded with cries of *Vive le Roi*. Of all and every of the above the said Sieur de la Salle having required of us an instrument, we have delivered to him the same signed by us, and by the undersigned witnesses, this ninth day of April, one thousand six hundred and eighty-two.”

“ LA METAIRIE,
Notary.

“ DE LA SALLE.

“ P. ZENOBE, Recollect Missionary.

“ HENRY DE TONTY.

“ FRANÇOIS DE BOISRONDET.

“ JEAN BOURDON.

“ SIEUR D'AUTRAY.

“ JAQUES CAUCHOIS.

“ PIERRE YÔU.

“ GILLES MEUCRET.

“ JEAN MICHEL, Surgeon.

“ JEAN MAS.

“ JEAN DULIGNON.

“ NICOLAS DE LA SALLE.”

Historical Journal;
OR,
NARRATIVE OF THE EXPEDITIONS
MADE BY ORDER OF
HIS MAJESTY LOUIS XIV., KING OF FRANCE,
TO
COLONIZE LOUISIANA,
UNDER THE COMMAND OF
M. PIERRE LE MOYNE D'IBERVILLE, GOVERNOR GENERAL;
INCLUDING AN ACCOUNT OF HIS
*Explorations of the Colbert or Mississippi River, from its mouth to the Natchez
Nation; of the Physical Features of the Country; and of the Manners
and Customs of the Numerous Indian Tribes he Visited.*

Translated, and printed for the first time, from a copy of the original manuscript deposited in the office of the "Ministère de la Marine et des Colonies," Paris.

Names of the Ships and Officers of the Expedition.

I. LA BADINE—THIRTY GUNS, AND MANNED WITH TWO HUNDRED MEN ;—

M. PIERRE LE MOYNE D'IBERVILLE, Commander ;
M. LESQUELET, Lieutenant ;
M. BEAUHARNAIS, Ensign ;
M. RICOURD, Ensign ;
M. J. B. LE MOYNE DE BIENVILLE, King's Lt. ;
M. LE VASSEUR DE BOUSSOUELLE, Major ;
M. DE BORDENAU, Chaplain.

II. LE MARIN—THIRTY GUNS, AND MANNED WITH TWO HUNDRED MEN ;—

M. LE COMTE DE SURGÈRES, Commander ;
M. DE SAUVOL DE LA VILLANTRAY, Ensign ;
M. DES OURDYS, Ensign ;
Father ANASTASIUS DOUAY, Chaplain.

III. LE PRECIEUX ;—

M. J. F. LE VASSEUR, Commander.

IV. LE BISCAYENNE ;—

M. F. GUYON, Commander.

Which was increased on his arrival at St. Domingo, by order of the King, with the Ship of War LE FRANÇOIS, of 52 Guns, commanded by the MARQUIS DE CHATEAUMORAND, and several transports with troops and provisions.

Historical Journal:

OR, /

NARRATIVE OF THE EXPEDITION MADE BY ORDER OF LOUIS XIV., KING OF FRANCE, UNDER COMMAND OF M. D'IBERVILLE, TO EXPLORE THE COLBERT (MISSISSIPPI) RIVER AND ESTABLISH A COLONY IN LOUISIANA.

TRANSLATED AND PRINTED FOR THE FIRST TIME, FROM A COPY OF THE ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPT, DEPOSITED IN THE ARCHIVES OF THE MINISTÈRE DE LA MARINE ET DES COLONIES, PARIS.

CHAPTER I.



ON Friday morning, October 24, 1698, we weighed anchor in the port of *Brest, France*. The frigate *La Badine*, commanded by M. PIERRE LE MOYNE D'IBERVILLE,* fired a signal gun, announcing the departure of the expedition to *Louisiana*. Upon passing the entrance to the harbor, we

*The illustrious PIERRE LE MOYNE D'IBERVILLE, first Royal Governor of Louisiana, was the third of eleven sons of the brave CHARLES LE MOYNE, Seigneur of Longueuil, Lower Canada, all of whom distinguished themselves in the wars of France with England, Spain, and Holland. He was born at *Montreal*, July 20, 1662, and at an early age entered the naval service of France.

met a squadron of four ships of war, the *Eclatant*, the *Oiseau*, the *Dauphin*, and the *Hercules*, commanded by ADMIRAL DE COËTLOGON, who sent his gig on board our flag-ship *Badine*, which gave a salute of seven guns, and was returned by five guns from the *Eclatant*. We steered west southwest in order to escape the *Bay-froid ledge*, and at five o'clock we made *Ushant*, where we took our first observation, and found our latitude to be $48^{\circ}, 12''$; $10^{\circ}, 40''$, west longitude.

In the morning we signaled eight ships of war steering

In 1685 he took part in the expedition commanded by M. DE TROYES to Hudson Bay, and captured Forts Rupert, and Monsonis. In 1687, M. D'IBERVILLE was promoted to the rank of Captain of a ship of war, and ordered to *Quebec*. On his way to that port, he captured an English ship of war, with the British Governor and suite on board, and took them prisoners to *Quebec*. In 1689, he was sent to take command of Fort St. Ann, which he nobly defended against the combined attack of a British fleet and repulsed, with large loss to the enemy. He continued in command of this fort for more than a year, when he sailed for France with dispatches for the government, where he was graciously received by the King and Court. In 1692, he returned to Canada in command of a squadron, and captured Fort Nelson, a strong fortress which had been in the hands of the English since 1683. In this attack he lost his gallant brother, M. DE CHATEAUGUAY, in leading an attack on one of the bastions of the fort. In concert with M. DE BRILLON, they afterwards destroyed the fortress and town of *St. John's*, Newfoundland. At the close of the war with England and Holland, in 1697, and while in command of the ship *Pelican*, of fifty guns, he fought one of the most unequal and decisive battles in naval history. With a single ship, the *Pelican*, he was attacked by three English ships of war: the *Hampshire*, of fifty-two guns, which surrendered; the *Hudson*, of thirty-six guns, which he sunk; and the ship *Dehring*, of thirty-two guns, which he put to flight. This brilliant victory closed his naval career in Canada; and secured to France, by the treaty of *Ryswick*, all the territory, towns, and forts lying upon Hudson's Bay. He once more returned to France, where he was created a Knight of St. Louis, and took this occasion to urge upon the Court the necessity of sending a fleet to the Gulf of Mex-

southwest, for the purpose of reconnoitering *Cape Finisterre*. On Wednesday, the 29th, we hoisted our flag, and notified our ships the *Badine* was leaking badly. On Tuesday, December 2d, we arrived in sight of the *Island of St. Domingo*, and on the 4th, anchored at *Cape François*, where we expected to find M. DU CASSE, the Governor, but who had gone the day before to *Port de Paix*. On Friday, the 5th, we dispatched M. DES OURDYS to bring him back, and on the

ico to take possession, and plant a colony in Louisiana, which had been neglected since the death of LA SALLE; and to unite her with the magnificent country of Louisiana, where it was important to establish in the Gulf a market for her commerce, and a nursery for her navy. He was accordingly appointed, in 1698, to command a squadron, with the title of Governor-General, and to proceed immediately to Louisiana, and establish a colony there. (*See first series Historical Collections of Louisiana, vol. 3, pp. 10-12.*)

On his arrival in the Gulf of Mexico, he found the Spaniards already in possession of *Pensacola*, and, having no authority to drive them out, he continued his voyage along the coast to the west, and took possession of some islands in Mobile Bay, where he landed his troops, and went in search of the Colbert or *Mississippi* river, which he ascended as far as the *Natchez*, and on his return he ordered a fort to be built (La Boulaye) on the left bank of the river, about thirty leagues above its mouth. He afterwards made several voyages to France for colonists and provisions, until the war broke out between France, Spain, and England, when he was recalled to France, and appointed the commander of a fleet to attack the English towns on the Atlantic coast, leaving the colony to protect itself. The expedition did not, however, set sail immediately, on account of his sickness, and it was not until the spring of 1706 that he reached St. Domingo; and when about to set sail for *Charleston*, he was attacked with yellow fever, which, after a short illness, put an end to his life, on the 9th of July, 1706, in the forty-fourth year of his age, leaving a wife and grateful country to mourn his loss. This brave and accomplished officer was the contemporary of JEAN BART, DE TOURVILLE, D'ESTRÉE, COËTLOGON, and DUGAI TROUIN, who contributed with him their share to the glory of France, and the long and brilliant reign of LOUIS XIV.

10th, he returned and reported that the Governor was sick. On Thursday, the 11th, we perceived the flag-ship of war, *Le François*, commanded by the MARQUIS DE CHATEAUMORAND, who sent his officer on board of our flag-ship. On Friday, the pilot of the *Badine* brought the *Le François* into harbor, accompanied by the *Badine*, and safely anchored us in *Port de Paix*. On Sunday, the 14th, M. LE COMTE DE SURGÈRES, MM. L'ESQUELET, and SAUVOL DE LA VILLANTRAY called on and were politely received by the Governor, who tendered us his services. He wrote immediately to the commander at the Cape, to furnish M. D'IBERVILLE with all the provisions he was in need of, and to M. LAURENT DE-GRAFF * to embark on board the flag-ship of the MARQUIS DE CHATEAUMORAND, at *Leogane*, as M. DE GRAFF was thoroughly acquainted with the coast.

He also wrote M. DE CHATEAUMORAND to visit him as soon as possible, that he might have an understanding with him.

* Capt. LAURENT DE GRAFF was an associate of MM. DE GRAMMONT, DE L'OLONOIS, MONTAUBAN, and MORGAN, and all of that band of corsairs, whose rendezvous was on the Tortugas, St. Domingo, and other West India islands; and who desolated the coasts of New Spain for more than a century. He rendered his name famous by the capture of Vera Cruz, in 1683, which placed him in possession of seven or eight millions of dollars of property. He was prompt, brave, and determined; and to resolve was to undertake and execute at the same time. He was perfectly acquainted with the Spanish mode of fighting, and distinguished himself among the bravest men of that day. Speaking the French, Spanish, and other languages, with great fluency, he was employed to accompany this expedition, as he was well acquainted with every port in the Gulf of Mexico. After M. D'IBERVILLE took possession of Louisiana, he returned with the MARQUIS DE CHATEAUMORAND to St. Domingo.

On the 16th, M. DU CASSE came on board, and we set sail for *Lcogane*. On Friday, the 19th, at nine o'clock, we arrived there. The principal inhabitants along the coast came on board to pay their respects to M. DU CASSE, the new Governor. At two o'clock he left us, and we gave him a salute of nine guns. He gave orders to supply the fleet with fresh bread and meat twice a day. Our officers were then invited to his house, where the plan of the voyage to Louisiana was discussed.

Whilst the *Badine* was waiting for supplies at the Cape, the heat, fruits, and debauchery produced a good deal of sickness on board. On Tuesday, the 23d, M. LE CLERC, the King's notary, dying on shore, the holy sacrament was administered to him. On Thursday, the 25th, the flag-ship *Le François*, commanded by M. DE CHATEAUMORAND, and the flag-ship *La Badine*, of M. D'IBERVILLE, with her tenders, arrived, and anchored the same evening. The officers of this ship supped on board the *Le Marin*, commanded by M. LE COMTE DE SURGÈRES. He informed us that M. BERTHIER, Commissary of our squadron, died at the Cape on the 17th. They brought with them M. LAURENT DE GRAFF, who was to accompany us; and he also informed us that the English had sent two ships to establish a colony on the *Mississippi*.*

On the first of January, 1699, we set sail, so as to reach

* This expedition was sent out by DANIEL COX, under the patent originally granted by CHARLES I., to Sir ROBERT HEATH, and whose frigates entered the *Mississippi* river in 1699, but were turned back by M. DE BIENVILLE. (Historical Collections of Louisiana, vol. 2, pp. 223-5, and vol. 3, pp. 16, 17.)

the other ships which were in advance of us. At six o'clock, the *Le François* fired a gun across the A. D. 1699. little *Goave*, to notify an officer who had gone there on a visit. He arrived at nine o'clock. M. D'IBERVILLE then sent the gun-boat (*Biscayenne*) to *Hippe*, to notify the small cruisers to procure a supply of refreshments. At five o'clock the *Badine* fired a gun to recall the gun-boat and cruisers. We continued to hoist but little sail on the *François*. At nine o'clock, the long-boat (*Traversier*) responded to the signal; at ten o'clock we put the ship on the starboard tack, hoisted three lights, and fired a gun to notify the *François* that the *Badine* would lie to, off *Hippe*,* until morning. Finding ourselves too close to *Point Caymite*, we hoisted our mizzen and top-sails, to clear the land.

On Friday, the 2d of January, 1699, the *Badine* remained to the eastward in sight of us. As for the *François* we could see nothing of her. On the 3d, 4th, and 5th, we coasted along the island of *St. Domingo* and a part of *Cuba*, and on Friday, the 9th, we came in sight of the *Little Cayman*, and on Tuesday, the 14th, we passed *Cape St. Antonio*. On Thursday, the 22d, we sounded, but found no bottom. In the evening, having sounded again, we found one hundred and seventy fathoms. On Friday, the 23d, the soundings gave us sixty fathoms, at two o'clock, forty fathoms, and at four o'clock, thirty fathoms. At five o'clock the *Badine* hoisted a flag as a signal to cast anchor. We could barely see the

*A rich district of country six leagues to the west of *Petit Gonave*, *St. Domingo*.

land, which appeared low and about six leagues off. We ranged alongside the *Badine*, which called out to us to make sail and reconnoiter the land, which we did. We afterwards came to anchor in thirty fathoms of water and saw a fire bearing N. N. W., which continued to burn all night, having been kindled by the *Florida* Indians. The latitude was $29^{\circ} 57'$ north.

On Saturday, the 24th, at six o'clock in the morning, we neared the land, the wind being in a N. E. direction, and ran down upon the tender, which was to windward of us about three leagues. The *François* and *Badine* both approached nearer in order to reconnoiter the land. At ten o'clock we signaled the long-boat or tender, and steered N. $\frac{1}{4}$ N. W. to join the other vessels. At the depth of thirty fathoms the lead brought up gray sand. An hour after we found twenty-two fathoms at a distance of about three leagues from land; we ranged along the coast until sundown, when we anchored in eighteen fathoms.

On Sunday morning, the 25th, at seven o'clock, we weighed anchor, with the wind to the eastward, which held us under close sail. The gun-boat approached the land for the purpose of reconnoitering a cape, within which we observed a river, but did not discover the entrance. We continued on to the westward, sounded and found twelve fathoms, with hard bottom. We discovered a low flat country extending from N. E. to W. S. W., a distance of fifteen leagues. The coast consisted of a fine white sand. At ten o'clock we discovered a large lake that extended to

westward, the other side of which appeared to be covered with lofty forest trees. The wind was generally from the coast and beautiful weather. The two long-boats coasted along within musket shot of the shore, where they found uniformly five fathoms of water. At six o'clock in the evening we anchored in twelve fathoms of water, fine sandy bottom. The wind continued all night from the coast with a slight haze. The tide flowed westwardly, but in the port it flowed north and south. The coast runs east and west. On Monday, the 26th, we continued the same route from the east, with a slight fog. At nine o'clock we saw a low cape to the west, and in a pass within we saw two ships. An hour after the *François*, in approaching, fired five guns as a signal to anchor in ten fathoms of water. We replied to this signal by several volleys of musketry, at the same time notifying the long-boats not to lose sight of us in the fog. The two ships we had seen fired two guns and sent off a long-boat to reconnoiter us. Having approached within a half league of us, they returned when we hoisted our flag. All night the winds blew from the east, weather good, and the thick haze continuing.

CHAPTER II.



ON Tuesday, the 27th, M. DE L'ESQUELET, lieutenant of the *Badine*, went to reconnoiter the two frigates, which he discovered were *Spanish*; the one mounting eighteen, the other twenty guns. *They had been engaged in establishing a colony here (Pensacola), for the space of four months. The commander, DON ANDRÉS DE ARRIOLA, received our officer very politely, who told him that the King had heard that some five or six hundred Canadians had descended for the purpose of taking possession of the mines, and that we were sent to arrest them. That we had captured the two gun-boats, who were pirates, and that he had learned there was another in these seas carrying fifty or sixty guns, the François, that joined us at St. Domingo. We were in want of wood and water, but in order to obtain it, we must enter the river. The commander replied that he had orders to permit no one to enter the river. Nevertheless, he permitted M. L'ESQUELET to enter, and sent his major on board of us in a long-boat, whom we saluted with three guns. The Spaniards have erected a stock-*

ade fort here, and have about three hundred men, with two Augustine and two Recollect monks. M. L'ESQUELET and the major arrived on board the *François* about two o'clock, with presents for the MARQUIS DE CHATEAUMORAND, who had sent on shore several demijohns of wine.

On Wednesday, the 28th, we went with our three ships and canoes to sound the entrance of the bay, called by the Spaniards *Santa-Maria-de-Galvez-de-Pensacola*.* We found it a beautiful harbor; the shallowest water found, according to the report of MM. D'IBERVILLE and DE SURGÈRES, who visited it themselves, was twenty feet. About noon the captain of one of the Spanish frigates came in a boat with orders for us not to enter. We had already weighed anchor, which we let fall again. The captain informed us that we could only be permitted to anchor in front of the river, where wood and water would be brought to us. It was apparent that their sailors had learned from ours that we were visiting this coast for the purpose of forming a colony. Our officers thought it prudent to go no farther. This is certainly a most beautiful port, equal at least to that of *Brest*, and has been lost to us by delay. There are masts enough in this bay to supply the whole marine of France. At six o'clock we hoisted our felucca on board, regretting the necessity of quitting such a beautiful place.

On Thursday, the 29th, weather calm, continued haze,

* The name of this Bay is sometimes written D'Ychuse, Achuse, and Ochuse. It was discovered by the Spaniards in the sixteenth century and was named *Filipina* by GUIDO DE LAS BAZARES. It was also called by the Indians, *Ochus*.

and variable winds which hindered us from making much headway. On Friday, the 30th, we made sail at seven o'clock in the morning, with wind E. N. E., to reconnoiter the Bay of *Mobile*. We approached the land within three leagues, which was made S. W. $\frac{1}{4}$ W. and W. S. W.; four o'clock, steered S. W., finding but five fathoms of water. The *François* also signaled us that she found but five fathoms. She held the wind in order to have more sea-room. Some time after she rallied upon us. We anchored at six o'clock in nine fathoms bottom of fine sand.

On Saturday, the 31st, steered W. $\frac{1}{4}$ N. W. At noon, we perceived a strong tide current running out from the Bay of *Mobile*, and placed our vessels across it, supposing that there must be deep water, and we sent our shallops to make soundings; they found but eight fathoms. Afterwards we made use of their services when we had passed over the current. At ten o'clock we anchored in ten fathoms of water, hard bottom. M. SAUVOL DE LA VILLANTRAY, and a pilot, were detached with two long-boats to make the soundings in the Bay of *Mobile*. At six o'clock the larger of the long-boats grounded, the tide having cast her on a sand-bank. She fired several guns, but we only saw the flash of them. After a short time she was hauled off. The wind was all night fresh from the S. E., and two hours after daylight, we sailed to the S. S. W., the rain pouring down in torrents. We could not come about to the wind, although the breeze was very fresh, by reason of the strong currents, which bore to the S. E.

On *Sunday, February the 1st*, our *felucca* having returned from making its reconnoissance, said they found no water, according to the report made by M. DE L'ESQUELET. Nevertheless, when this gentleman arrived on board, he stated that he found five fathoms, which caused M. D'IBERVILLE to go himself and make an examination in company with M. DE SAUVOL. The two long-boats were obliged to come to anchor on account of the strong currents and south-westerly winds, which drove them towards shore. We weighed anchor and hoisted our two topsails, in order to clear a reef, which extended from the main land, over which the seas were breaking; within was a small island, lying east and west from the cape, making out from the Bay of *Mobile*. There are two other islets farther in, and about three leagues distant from the main land. During the twenty-four hours the winds have been variable, with heavy rain and fog, with a prospect of bad weather. On Monday, the 2d, the wind continued east, with constant rain. At midnight the wind veered to the west, when we payed out more cable. On Tuesday, the 3d, the wind continued westward, with foul weather, rough sea, and cold. Towards noon the weather moderated, and by evening the wind changed to the north-west, in which direction it continued all night. On Wednesday, the 4th, brisk wind N. N. W. At eleven o'clock, M. D'IBERVILLE came on board. He had been absent since Sunday, and was unable to reach the shipping on account of the boisterous weather. He reported but twelve feet of water in the pass, which is tortuous; but within he found

five fathoms. He saw a large lake, into which a river emptied. The tide ebbed and flowed therein. The tides flowed N. W. by S. W. The river ran with such rapid current that its waters were charged with sediment. They brought down large pine trees of a size admirably adapted for masts. Our men killed several water-fowls, and found some Indian cabins. Upon one of the islands they also found a stranded pirogue, *several earthen pots, and a large quantity of human bones, the result, probably, of some battle fought there.* The Indians, who visit this coast, belong to wandering tribes. When they are satiated with flesh, they come to the sea-shore for fish, which is there found in abundance. Our people caught some that weighed at least twenty pounds.

At one o'clock P. M., the *Badine* hoisted the Dutch flag as a signal for us to get under way. We raised our light anchor, which we had cast to the S. E., for fear of entangling the larger one, and by two o'clock were under full sail with a brisk breeze from the north, and a clear sky. We steered W. $\frac{1}{4}$ S. W.; at four o'clock the wind continuing W. S. W., we bore closer on, and steered north. At sundown, we noticed the variation of the compass, which was one degree. At six o'clock we anchored in fourteen fathoms, bottom sandy mud. At three o'clock A. M., we took the height of the polar star, the hour at which it passes its meridian above the pole. We were at this time about three leagues westward of the bay of *Mobile*, all the while the wind blowing briskly from the north, with weather clear and cold.

The bay, called "*Mobile*" (*Mauvila*) by the Spaniards, is,

according to our observations, situated in latitude 30° north, and longitude $283^{\circ} 26'$ west. On Thursday, the 5th, we weighed anchor, and with a light northerly wind, we steered $W. \frac{1}{4} S. W.$, and at noon we took the meridian and found $29^{\circ} 50'$. At six o'clock, the look-out at mast-head discovered several islands* in the bay of *Mobile*. On Friday, the 6th, in the morning, the long-boat of the *Badine* was sent out to reconnoiter a pass which was seen between the islands mentioned, and the main land. The *François* and long-boats made sail to join us. At nine o'clock we came to anchor, wind north, and the cape bearing $W. N. W.$ At four o'clock we steered $W. S. W.$ to keep away from shore. At sundown the point of the island bore $N. N. W.$ at a distance of four leagues. We came to anchor at six o'clock in eleven fathoms of water, bottom muddy sand. The gun-boat touched upon the island with the intention of reconnoitering other islands in the morning, beyond which we desired to find anchorage. This island we speak of, is in latitude 30° and longitude $282^{\circ} 34'$. On the 7th, we weighed anchor, steering $W. S. W.$, fine weather, but made no discoveries. On Sunday, the 8th, M. DE SURGÈRES went in the felucca to examine an island lying to the $N. W.$, and the long boat went to sound a pass $W. N. W.$ On Monday, the 9th, we weighed anchor, wind to the east, and hoisted our main and mizzen topsails to

* These islands were afterwards named by M. D'IBERVILLE, *Dauphin*, *Horn* and *Dog Island*; the first (*Dauphin*) became the seat of the French colony after its removal from *Biloxi*, in 1702.

reach the anchorage to the south of an island, where one of the long-boats had gone to take soundings for us. At noon we came to anchor in seven fathom of water, muddy bottom, one league and a half south of the island. On Tuesday, the 10th, wind east, slight breeze, went to an anchorage north of the island discovered by M. DE SURGÈRES* the day before. On Wednesday and Thursday, the weather was nearly the same, with a cold north wind. On Friday, the 13th, M. D'IBERVILLE, having seen the Indians kindling fires *upon the larger island three leagues to the north*, took with him Father ANASTASIUS† to make them a visit. *They landed in a gun-boat and a bark-canoe, in which the Canadians had descended the Mississippi.* We landed at two o'clock P.M., and saw the tracks of the Indians who had left since morning, and tented here.

On Saturday, the 14th, having breakfasted, we marched along the shore. M. D'IBERVILLE and his Indian guide at the same time perceived the tracks of two savages who had

* Afterwards called "*Surgères*," but is now "*Ship Island*," and about nine miles from *Mississippi City*. In the report of M. HUBERT on *Pensacola, Mobile, and Dauphin Island* in 1721, he recommends "*Ship Island*" as the best harbor on the coast of Louisiana, and the best harbor for a naval station and ships of war.

† Father ANASTASIUS DOUAY RECOLLECT—we know but little of his history previous to his coming to Louisiana with M. DE LA SALLE in 1684, and who returned to France with M. JOUTEL, the historian of that expedition, after the tragical death of Sieur DE LA SALLE. Father DOUAY returned to Louisiana in the expedition with M. D'IBERVILLE, in 1698, and wrote an account of the attempt made by LA SALLE to reach the *Mississippi* in 1684. (*See Historical Collections of Louisiana, first series, vol. 1, pp. 85-193.*)

come from their hiding-place. He returned to our fire, took two hatchets, four knives, some beads, vermilion, and two pipes filled with tobacco, as presents, and to show them that our intentions were peaceable. The shallops and bark kept along the shore, while M. D'IBERVILLE, his Indian guide, and Father ANASTASIUS walked on foot. At some distance they saw three Indians who took flight in their canoes; seeing which M. D'IBERVILLE also took to his canoe and forced them on shore. Two made good their escape, but the third, who was old and sickly, fell into his hands. Presents were given to him, and he was made to understand that our mission was friendly and not warlike. The Indian appeared to comprehend and be well satisfied. M. D'IBERVILLE added that he was going to tent a short distance from this spot; he made a sign for us to go on shore and kindle a fire for him, which we did with pleasure. His thigh was badly diseased. Some of our men who had gone out to hunt, surprised an old woman who had concealed herself. They conducted her to the old man where we were. She was nearly frightened to death. We gave her some presents, and she saw how well we treated the old man, who promised that so soon as his people returned he would make them pull some Indian corn for us. We left them together and returned to our cabin. The old woman visited the Indians that same evening and told them all that had happened.

On Sunday morning, the 15th, M. D'IBERVILLE and Father ANASTASIUS went again to visit the old man; but unfortunately the fire having caught to the dry grass near

him, he found it difficult to remove himself. We laid the poor creature upon a bear's skin, where he expired within a half hour, before our eyes. Hearing the others approaching us with songs we waited for them some time, but through fear, they would not come near us. We then returned to our cabin. At 6 o'clock they encountered our hunters, who gained their confidence so far as to get their consent to come with them. They came dancing and singing, holding in their hands a large club, which appeared to be an instrument of war. We embraced them after their manner, by rubbing their stomach ; after which we gave them pipes and presents of every description. Then M. D'IBERVILLE sent for the large brass kettle, that we might dine together. Two old women pulled the ears of corn to feast us in return. They called us their allies, and taught us some words of their language, after which we returned to our cabin.

CHAPTER III.



ON Monday, the 16th, the shallop kept along shore, whilst M. D'IBERVILLE, his brother, DE BIENVILLE, Father ANASTASIUS, and some others, went to visit their cabins, which our men had discovered the day before. We crossed some difficult marshes, and two of our men, who were in advance, fired their pistols to notify us that we were approaching their cabins, which we entered in a short time thereafter. We made presents to such of them as had not yet received any. They proposed to accompany us in the shallop and to leave with them three of our men, which was agreed to. M. D'IBERVILLE left among them his brother BIENVILLE, and took with him three Indians. We arrived on board the ships at three o'clock in the afternoon, when, having feasted them and made them considerable presents, they went to rest. On Tuesday, the 17th, we showed them the various manœuvres of our vessels and of the guns. We even fired round shot. They could not comprehend the scene before them, but were filled with astonishment.

The next day M. D'IBERVILLE reconducted them to their

cabins. There was a pleasant breeze from the south, and when he arrived at the shore all the savages were assembled waiting to receive and smoke the calumet with him. He made them additional presents, and passed the whole of Wednesday, the 18th, with them. These Indians told M. D'IBERVILLE that they detested the Spaniards, and promised him that they and their allies, the *Oumas* and *Tangibaos*, with whom our people became acquainted afterward, in descending the *Mississippi*, would accompany him. They proposed to go on a hunt for the purpose of supplying us with game for a grand feast; that buffaloes,* deer, and wild turkeys were abundant about ten leagues distant, and in three days they would return, when they would kindle a large fire as a signal, which should be answered by us with three guns.

On the 19th M. D'IBERVILLE returned on board and related what transpired, as before mentioned, at which we were greatly rejoiced. The object which most astonished them was the *spy-glass*. They could not comprehend how we could see distinctly objects so far distant from each other. *Brandy*, which was set on fire, and which we afterward drank, appeared to them a thing no less extraordinary. They promised, after the feast, to go with us to the *Mississippi*. They said the first time we had fired our gun they heard us, and came down to the sea-shore; and added that

* For more than a century past the American buffalo (*Bos Americanus*) has not been seen east of the *Mississippi* river, and is now only to be found in the Far West, where they are also fast disappearing in certain localities.

they were at war with the *Quinnipissas*, who dwelt about twenty-five leagues up the *Mississippi*, and they knew that M. DE LA SALLE had fought against them.

On Saturday, the 21st February, the Marquis of CHATEAUMORAND set sail for *St. Domingo*.† At noon we saw the fire in the place indicated by the Indians, and so soon

† Extract from a letter written by an officer on board the squadron commanded by the Marquis DE CHATEAUMORAND, dated St. Domingo, April 1, 1699, addressed to a friend in Paris :

“ The commander of this squadron, the Marquis DE CHATEAUMORAND, received orders several months ago from the King, through M. DE COSSE, governor of this island, to join the squadron of M. D'IBERVILLE as soon as he arrived at St. Domingo, in order to execute conjointly with him the sealed instructions of the Court, but not to be opened until after they had left St. Domingo ; as the object of the expedition was not to be known until after the entrance of the mouth of the *Mississippi*, which the late Sieur DE LA SALLE, from Canada, had discovered in 1682, and which he had subsequently failed to find three years later, when he was authorized by the King to establish a settlement on the banks of the *Mississippi* (Colbert). It was with the view of carrying out the plans of the King and Court that M. D'IBERVILLE, a (Canadian) naval officer of distinction, originally from Normandy, touched at St. Domingo several months ago.

“ Dispatches have, fortunately, since arrived by a courier, in advance, that M. D'IBERVILLE has entered the mouth of the *Mississippi*, but before he ascended it he found the Spaniards had already taken possession of *Pensacola*, and fortified themselves in two towers or forts, and planted posts on which their flags could be seen at a great distance. Our commander wished to oust them, but as the forces were nearly equal, and any contest between the two nations must have resulted disadvantageous to our pretensions, as the law of *primo occupanti* (the first occupant) must prevail, the Spanish and French commanders came to an amicable agreement that each should settle a colony where they pleased, and build forts for the protection of colonists.

“ M. D'IBERVILLE and the Marquis DE CHATEAUMORAND will report, on their arrival in France, an account of their successful expedition to the King and Court, which has given much satisfaction here.”

as M. D'IBERVILLE had dined on board the *Marin*, he ordered three guns to be fired, and toward evening, the long-boats being in readiness, two additional guns were fired as a signal for landing. On Sunday, the 22d, M. D'IBERVILLE, M. L'ESQUELET, lieutenant of the *Badine*, and all the Canadians belonging to his corps; M. DE SURGÈRES, M. DE SAUVOL, ensign of the *Marin*, with the Canadians of his party, departed at seven o'clock for the feast, with the wind east. On Monday, 23d, and Tuesday, 24th, the wind blew strongly from the north, which prevented the Indians from visiting us as was expected.

On Wednesday, 25th, M. DE SURGÈRES, M. L'ESQUELET, and M. DE SAUVOL DE VILLANTRAY returned at four o'clock, M. D'IBERVILLE having remained to wait for the savages, who had just arrived. The two feluccas were prepared for the purpose of starting on an exploring expedition to the *Pascagoula* river in the morning, and were provisioned for ten or twelve days. MM. DE SAUVOL DE LA VILLANTRAY and DES OURDYS, ensigns, and CHATEAU, pilot, formed a part of the expedition, and sounding around our ships, where we found from seventeen feet to five fathoms of water.

On Thursday, the 26th, the expedition took its course for the river (*Pascagoula*), which was eastward of our ships. They first went on shore to receive orders from M. D'IBERVILLE. The river they visited is situated ten leagues E. by N. E. of the island where we were anchored. They found to the N. E. of this an island which extended S. E. and N. W

one league, inside of which there were three fathoms of water, where the ships could enter secure against all winds. An excellent place was also found where supplies of wood and water could be obtained, at a distance of about two leagues from the mainland. From this place to the river the water is very shallow. The mouths of the river were about a league apart. It divides into four branches, which form two islets at the outlets. M. D'IBERVILLE returned from shore, where he had remained for some time, hoping to meet with some Indians who could give him information relative to the *Mississippi* river.

On Friday, the 27th, M. D'IBERVILLE, with his brother, M. DE BIENVILLE, and twenty men embarked in one of the long-boats. M. DE SAUVOL DE LA VILLANTRAY, lieutenant of the *Marin*, with Father ANASTASIUS, the *Recollect*, CHATEAU, the pilot, and twenty men, embarked in the other; making all together a force of fifty-one men, part Canadians, part filibusters whom we had taken on board at *St. Domingo*, and who were to remain in case we found a suitable place for a settlement. We were provisioned for twenty days, and were armed with guns, pistols, sabers, swords, bayonets, and two swivels in each long-boat, to defend ourselves against any insult the natives might offer in the course of our discoveries.

At nine o'clock the same day, at a given signal, we set sail, attended each by a bark canoe. Wind strong from the S. E., weather cloudy; sailed S. W. $\frac{1}{4}$ W. during our maritime watch (*horloge*), afterward, the wind hauling south, S. E.,

in order to pass clear of an island lying two leagues west of where we were anchored. To the south of this island we found deep water, with a rough sea. Continuing our route S. W., we found four small islands, composed of sand, lying close together, extending north and south. We sounded around them for the space of a quarter of a league, and found scarcely two feet of water. The sea was very beautiful there ; a strong wind was blowing, but we were secured from exposure by larger islands. The wind changing suddenly to the N. E., we steered to the south, and struck bottom near a small island where there were but two and a half feet of water. Two leagues from this islet we discovered a bay, the land running E. S. E., formed by several islands covered by the sea in stormy weather ; thence passing three leagues from S. W. to S. S. W., to avoid a cluster of islands lying in our route. At five o'clock we landed on the point of one of the islands, where we encamped, but could find no fresh water.

On Saturday, the 29th, we embarked again in a thick fog, which soon cleared off. . We were obliged to deviate several times from the direct course in order to avoid the sand islands in our way. We landed at a large island covered by tide-water, where we found a great quantity of oysters, which are not of so good a quality as those of Europe, the water being brackish among these islands (*Chandeleur*) by reason of their contiguity to the mouth of the river, whose waters expand to a considerable distance during the months of April and May. We remained here an hour, and, not

finding a passage, we retraced our steps, and on going out of this bay we steered S. E. for some distance along what appeared to be the mainland in two branches, the one extending S. E., the other N. W. Between these appeared to be a lake. To the S. E. of the island appeared a small lake, which we desired to cross, thinking to abridge our journey, but we found the water too shallow, which obliged us to take our original course. At the same point was a small islet at the distance of a musket-shot. We passed between the two. After doubling this point the land was continually in view, which consisted of low islands and trembling prairies, covered by the sea at high tides. Steering S. S. W., wind south, we saw a pass between two small islands, through which we entered, and encamped at four o'clock P. M. At five o'clock a storm arose from the N. W., accompanied by thunder and lightning, with a heavy rain which continued during the whole night. We fixed our sails to collect the rain-water, for we had none with us, and could find none on the island.

On Sunday, the *1st of March*, the bad weather and rain continued until noon, when the wind chopped around to the W. N. W., with lowering clouds and light breezes. In the morning M. D'IBERVILLE had a quantity of the branches of the small trees that grew upon the island cut to place in our camps, which were covered with water, and which kept us standing during the whole night. We killed several wild cats upon this island,* and remained there until Monday morning.

* Afterward called *Cat Island*, which name it still retains.

CHAPTER IV.



ON Monday, at one o'clock, we set sail with a strong north wind. We made several efforts to get out of the labyrinth of islands (the *Chandeleur*) by which we were surrounded. After doubling a point where our vessels struck the bottom, we saw the mainland, extending S. S. E., and coasted along the whole distance. The seas ran so high that we were obliged to fix up tarred canvas on the gunwales about a foot in height to prevent the water from breaking over into the boats. We drew nearer the land for fear of missing the river. We sailed closer to the wind and took in our large sail, to avoid being driven ashore, which the wind was blowing us dead on to. After beating about in the seas for two hours, and fearing the waves would fill the bark canoes, M. D'IBERVILLE made us run before the wind, with the intention of stranding the smaller vessels, so that we might return to the ships, since we could accomplish nothing by this route, the land being entirely inundated and filled with lagoons.

At this moment we perceived a pass between two banks, which appeared like islands. We saw that the water had

changed ; tasted, and found it fresh, a circumstance that gave us great consolation in that moment of consternation. Soon after we beheld the thick, muddy water. As we advanced, we saw the passes of the river, three in number, and the current of the stream was such that we could not ascend it without difficulty, although the wind was fair and favorable. Upon entering between the two mud banks, we saw a breaker in the middle of the pass, upon which we feared being lost, as it was with difficulty we could double it, for we observed, when too late, that the breaker lay N. E. and S. W. between the mud banks, which are larger upon the lower side of the entrance of the river. The entrance of the *Mississippi*,* runs S. E. and W. N. W., and may be about a quarter of a league wide at its estuary.

* The report or memoir made to the French government in 1725, on Louisiana, states that the *St. Louis* or *Mississippi* river throws itself into the sea by five mouths (*a gain of two mouths in twenty-five years*), thus enumerated : Eastern Pass, Southeast Pass, South Pass, Southwest Pass, and the Belize (on which a fort was built), but the South Pass was the only one used ; and on the bar of the latter, there was only from twelve to thirteen feet of water. Besides these passes, the river throws its waters through smaller outlets, called bayous or creeks. The engineer recommended the government to close up three of the passes, and the bayous, with three or four rows of *pilotis* placed close to each other at a distance of one hundred and fifty to two hundred toises from the mouth of the *Mississippi* to the pass, so that the interval would serve as a bed for the drift wood, which, being soon stopped, would soon be covered with the deposit of the alluvion from the the river banks, and increase the depth of the channel by the increased velocity of its current. At the same time it recommended the cultivation of the sugar cane, rice, indigo, and tobacco, and a more extensive emigration of negroes for the plantations, which could not be worked without them on account of the heat of the climate.

The coast consists of nothing more than two narrow strips of land, about a musket shot in width, having the sea on both sides of the river, which flows between these two strips of land, and frequently overflows them. At four o'clock, after having ascended the river one league and a half, we landed in a thick cane-brake,* which grows so tall and thick on both banks of the river, that it is difficult to see across, and it is impossible to pass through without cutting it down. Beyond the canes are impenetrable marshes. The banks are also bordered by trees of prodigious height, which the current of the river draws down to the sea, with their roots and branches.

We found twelve feet of water at the pass, and within from twelve to fifteen fathoms. On Tuesday, the 3d, mass was performed, and a *Te Deum* sung in gratitude for our discovery of the *entrance of the Mississippi river*; † after which we made a light breakfast, wishing to be sparing of our provisions, which consisted of two casks of biscuit, a small quantity of peas, and a quarter of flour for each long-boat. We set sail with a wind E. N. E. At a quarter of a league from our encampment, we found a large arm of water, which ran N. N. E., and broke over everywhere. At nine o'clock, we were dismasted in a squall, in crossing the spot where there

* The canes, or reeds, of Louisiana, are of two sorts. What is found in marshy places, the natives (women) worked very neatly into hats, baskets, mats, sieves, and other things; and those found on high, dry ground, being very hard, were generally used in building huts, and knives to cut their meats. A large traffic was carried on by the Indians in these articles in the Southern States.

† About seventeen years after DE LA SALLE had explored it to its mouth.

were two other bodies of water, the one running S. E., the other S. W., which are close to each other, and not more than three leagues from the entrance to the sea. We landed as soon as possible to adjust our masts, and found there an abundance of blackberries, nearly ripe, and a few trees, of middle height. The banks of the river ran W. N. W. At five leagues from the mouth, it is not more than musket-shot wide. There are bushes on each side, especially on the star-board side ; as you ascend, the banks appear more and more submerged, the land being scarcely visible. We saw a great quantity of wild game, such as ducks, geese, snipe, teal, bustards, and other birds. We also saw a Mexican wolf, and a species of rat which carried its young in a sack under its belly.*

Between five and six o'clock we landed and encamped ; some of our men went hunting and found a variety of animals, as stags, deer, buffaloes, and a very fine country. The wind continued all day E. N. E., pretty fresh, and somewhat cold. We made eight leagues, having been greatly aided by our sails. We must have been ten leagues from the entrance of the river. The Canadians and filibusters who came with us, stood guard all night, alternately, with the sailors. On the 4th, being Ash Wednesday, religious ceremonies were performed by every one, then Mass was said, and

* The Pouched rat (*Pseudostoma Bursarium*) is still but little known, and is so entirely subterranean that it is not surprising. It is only occasionally found in the Southern States, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, etc., where it is often very destructive to river embankments.

after a cross was planted, we breakfasted. At seven we embarked again. The wind having calmed, we took to the oars and rowed about two leagues. The route in ascending was N. W., and N. W. $\frac{1}{4}$ W.; afterwards, N. W. $\frac{1}{4}$ N., and N. N. W. *We saw some small canoes, each made from three bundles of cane, bound with thin wooden straps.**

The Indians make use of these in the chase, in crossing from one side of the river to the other. At six o'clock we landed and encamped. On ascending a tree we could discern the sea at a distance of about a league and a half from us. At this point we found the rapidity of the current stronger than usual. One of the bark (Canadian) canoes, which had remained behind with three hunters, reported they saw three crocodiles (alligators) on the bank of the river. This day we made eight leagues, assisted by the sails. The forest trees began to assume larger dimensions, but not very close together, for we could see across the country, which was very marshy. We had, therefore, made some eighteen or nineteen leagues in the river.

On Thursday, the 5th, three of our men went hunting at daylight; they saw many tracks and heard the howlings of wild beasts. We planted a cross and made several marks

*Every form of the Indian canoe, except this, has been described by C. C. JONES in his exhaustive work on the "Antiquities of the Southern Indians," and as it is so entirely different from any that has been described by early writers on this subject—being lighter and more manageable for transportation and gliding over the waters of large rivers in times of war, and in pursuit of game, especially the deer and buffalo, it may be regarded as the most primitive.

upon the trees, and fired off one of our swivels to give notice to the savages. We breakfasted, as usual, with a soup made of flour, water, and lard, for we always reserved the lard for breakfast. Saw a large crocodile (alligator) on the river banks, sunning himself. Some of our men fired at him, when he immediately threw himself into the water. At eleven o'clock we saw smoke arising from the burning grass, which the Indians had set fire to, either to drive out the game, or obtain easier access to fire upon us. At noon we landed to dine, as the wind was contrary. At three o'clock, in going up the river, saw a canoe which had been hollowed out by burning from the trunk of a large tree. We would have taken it if it had not been too much broken. In this place the river bears N. W. $\frac{1}{4}$ W. Between five and six o'clock landed on a small point where we encamped and cooked as usual; this day we made six leagues and must have been about twenty-four leagues in the river.

On Friday, the 6th, we distributed two baskets of bread among twenty-six persons, with a quantity of meat, after which we fired a swivel. At seven o'clock we embarked in a fog so thick we could scarcely see. The river continued in a N. W. course twenty-seven leagues from its mouth, afterwards the wind changed from N. W. to E., and then from N. E. to N. W. again. At sundown we landed and camped. We sent a man up a tree-top to look out; but he could not see anything. Two of our men, who were in a bark canoe, told us they had seen three crocodiles (alliga-

tors),* one of which was a monster. At seven o'clock a buffalo was killed; we were then thirty leagues up the river.†

On Saturday, the 7th, we embarked, after having erected a cross, and marked some trees. Weather calm. At nine o'clock, in ranging along the river we saw three buffaloes ‡ lying down on the bank. We landed five men to go in pursuit of them, which they could not do, as they soon got lost in the thick forest and cane-brakes. A short time after, in turning a point, we saw a canoe manned by two Indians, who took to land the moment they saw us and concealed

* It is the alligator (*Lacerta Cinerous*) spoken of here. Crocodiles have never been found in the rivers, lagoons, or swamps of Louisiana. The alligator differs materially from the crocodile in many respects, particularly in their teeth; the fourth pair of the crocodiles passes upwards in a groove. The alligator's perforates the upper jaw. The feet of the crocodile are webbed. Those of the alligator are only half webbed. Nor does the crocodile bellow like the alligator, while the flesh of the latter is considered by the Indians as a wholesome food.

† They had now reached the present site of New Orleans, which was laid out and inhabited twenty-three years after, and known as the grazing ground of the American Buffalo (*Bos Americanus*).

‡ This animal was found in great numbers east and west of the *Mississippi* or *Colbert* river, when Louisiana was first settled, but they have since disappeared with the numerous Indian tribes then found on its banks by M. D'IBERVILLE. This animal was first described by CORONADO, in his expedition to *Cibola*, New Mexico, 1540. The Indians employed both the gun and the arrow to hunt it, and in the south-western States and Territories they are still hunted by the natives on horseback, with the rifle and arrow, and slaughtered in immense numbers. Few animals in the great West contribute more to the comforts of savage or civilized life. Their flesh, when dried, serves for bread and meat, and their skins for clothing and blankets. They are now but seldom found below south of 32° to 33° north latitude.

themselves in the woods. A little farther on we saw five more who executed the same manœuvre, with the exception of one, who waited for us at the brink of the river. We made signs to him. M. D'IBERVILLE gave him a knife, some beads and other trinkets. In exchange he gave us some dried bear's meat. M. D'IBERVILLE commanded all of our men to go on board the long-boats for fear of intimidating him, and made signs to him to recall his comrades. They came singing their song of peace, extending their hands towards the sun and rubbing their stomachs, as a sign of admiration and joy. After joining us they placed their hands upon their breasts, and extended their arms over our heads as a mark of friendship. M. D'IBERVILLE asked them by signs, if the Indians we had seen on the sea-shore, where the vessels were at anchor, had arrived. They gave us to understand the affirmative, and that they had gone up by a branch of the river, which empties into the sea, near the same place where he had crossed it. He then asked them if their village was far off. They told him it was five days' journey hence.

What troubled us most, was, that we began to be wearied, and our provisions were falling short. M. D'IBERVILLE gave them some beads, knives and looking-glasses; in return they gave us dried bear's meat, which they had in their canoes. Our men also trafficked with them for some trifling objects. One good old man extended his meat upon the ground, after the same manner our butchers do in our markets of Europe, and sat down beside it. Two of our

men went to him, and each one gave him a knife and took the whole of the meat, consisting of at least one hundred pounds. All seemed satisfied with their bargain. M. D'IBERVILLE asked them if they would show him their village. They gave him to understand they were going on a hunt, and could not accompany him. But having offered a hatchet to one of them, who seemed very desirous to possess it, he agreed to go. We asked them if they had heard the sound of the swivel; they said they had heard it twice. We fired it again before them, at which they were greatly astonished, for it was the first time they had ever heard it so near them. We passed two hours among them. One of them came on board of our shallop. We made him a present of a shirt, the others did not appear jealous of the gift, so indifferent are they. The river at this place was N. W. by S. W. At one o'clock we dined.

Our course was now S. S. W. by S. Within half a league again tended N. W. by W. At six o'clock landed and encamped, our men standing guard as usual. This day we made five leagues, and were thirty-five leagues from the mouth. On Sunday, the 8th, after mass, we embarked at seven o'clock; river tending S. W. by N. W. and W. The current was stronger than ordinarily, which made it necessary for us to keep in the bends and cross the river from one point to the other, three or four times. The weather was very warm all day. Towards five o'clock a storm arose, which compelled us to land and encamp. Some of our men killed a crocodile (alligator), which they skinned and afterwards

cooked the flesh to eat. They also killed a rattle-snake* upwards of six feet in length, the bite of which is said to be mortal. The wind was from the north all night and very cold. We this day made four leagues.

* The rattle-snake (*crotillus horridus*) is but seldom found in the low grounds of the delta of the *Mississippi*, as the country is too wet for them ; while the black and water snake are numerous, but not poisonous.

CHAPTER V.



N Monday, the 9th, at seven o'clock, after having erected a cross, as usual, we embarked. At noon we landed to dine, our usual custom, when the wind was not high. We saw a smoke on the lower side of us, which led us to believe we were near the Indian village; but we were deceived, as we were yet distant from it some twenty leagues, as we found out afterwards. The current was more rapid than on the preceding day, which obliged us to make frequent crossings of the river, and keep in the bends. The river tended N. to S. W. At sundown we encamped, having made five leagues, and were forty-four leagues from the outlet.

On Tuesday, the 10th, we embarked at seven o'clock, on the river, coursing N. W. to S. S. W., returning again W. N. W. At ten o'clock we saw another smoke, of which our belief was the same as of yesterday, but we were again mistaken. At noon we landed to dine, as there was a dead calm. As we ascended the river, the forests grew larger and closer, and the land was four to five feet higher than below. During the floods, the land is covered by the overflow at least

a foot deep, from the marks observable on the trees. At five o'clock we encamped, having made six leagues, and being fifty leagues from the mouth of the river.

On Wednesday, the 11th, the heavy rain prevented our embarkation until noon, when it ceased. Several of our men went out hunting. Among the rest, two Breton sailors, with their guns, who went so far in the interior, that they found it impossible to retrace their steps, the forest and canebrakes being so dense. As they did not return at seven o'clock, we fired several muskets in the direction they had taken. The rain recommenced and continued all night.

On Thursday, the 12th, M. D'IBERVILLE ordered the swivel to be fired off, and sent four men into the woods in search of the lost sailors. He advised them to fire off their muskets as they advanced into the forest, which they did after a march of one league. They returned and reported they heard the report of a gun at a distance, but could not discern their tracks, which the heavy rains of the preceding night had obliterated. At ten o'clock he sent a new detachment of eight men, in different directions, with compasses. They took provisions with them, and were ordered not to return until they were notified by the report of the swivel. A gun-boat was also sent along the bank of the river, a distance of two leagues, in quest of them. Between four and five o'clock the swivel was fired to recall the men. The weather was dark and lowering all day.

On Friday, March the 13th, at seven o'clock, we embarked; the river making several bends. At five o'clock we found

two canoes laden with millet. We went to them; M. D'IBERVILLE gave beads, knives and other articles in exchange for the millet, and they appeared well satisfied. One of the Indians belonged to the tribe of the *Ouachas*, the other to the *Bayagoulas*, who returned the same evening to the village. We mounted an iron mill we had with us to grind Indian corn, for we had used all our flour, and were short of bread. We began to make *sagamite*, which is in fact nothing more than the groats of Indian corn mixed with water and lard to season it, then baked. This was all we had to subsist on, with water to drink, for our liquor had given out. I omitted to mention, that towards three o'clock, we discovered a large body of water, running in a S. E. direction, *upon the borders of which are several Indian nations*. Its entrance is fifty-five leagues from the mouth of the *Mississippi*. We made six leagues this day, as the current of the river was not so strong, on account of this body of water, which tended to diminish it considerably.

On Saturday the 14th, we embarked for the village, which we knew could not be far off, from the information given us by the Indians on Friday. We rowed hard in order to arrive there as soon as possible. The river winds about in several places, which caused us to cross and take the eddy. At two o'clock we saw a canoe in which were several Indians, three men, two children, and one old man who, having been a prisoner of war, had been scalped. He was clothed with a bear's skin and besmeared with different colors of clay, believing that this custom tends to beautify his looks. He

held in his hand a calumet, about three feet long, adorned with feathers of birds of different plumage.* He was the deputy of the chief of the *Mongoulachas* sent to receive us. We continued our route without stopping for the ceremonies of the *Calumet*, which are very long, as will be seen in the sequel.

When we arrived near the village, the ambassador sang several songs of peace, accompanied by loud yells. The Indians assembled upon an eminence on the bank of the river, where they had cut the cane away to receive us. We landed at this beautiful place about four o'clock. The cane which they had cut was upwards of twenty-five feet in length, perfectly straight, about an inch and a half thick, and so close together that one cannot pass through them without the greatest difficulty. The chief was surrounded by about sixty

* "The calumet," says Father MARQUETTE, "than which there is nothing among the Indians more mysterious or more esteemed. Men do not pay to the crowns and scepters of kings the honor they pay to it; it seems to be the god of peace and war, the arbiter of life and death." The calumet of peace is adorned with white feathers and the bearer may go everywhere without fear. The one for war is adorned with red feathers. They use them also in settling disputes, strengthening alliances, and speaking to strangers. When Indian nations entered into a treaty of alliance, a pipe of peace was exchanged between them, which was then called the pipe of covenant. It was carefully preserved, and generally lighted in council whenever anything occurred to disturb the alliance; then each smoked a little out of it. "When IBERVILLE," says PENICANT (*Historical Collections of Louisiana and Florida*, printed 1869), "arrived in Louisiana, the chiefs came to him smoking the calumet and singing the song of peace. The tube of the calumet for ceremony is long, and the bowl of the pipe is usually made of red baked clay or marble." For a further description of calumets used for other purposes, consult Jones's "Antiquities of Southern Indians," pp. 387-393.

persons, among whom were several women, which is the greatest mark of friendship that can be given or received by them. M. D'IBERVILLE was received by them in the usual manner. They began by elevating their arms towards the sun, as in admiration, then passed their hands over his breast, which is a peculiar form of endearment among them. The same ceremony was performed upon M. DE SAUVOL, M. BIENVILLE, and Father ANASTASIUS, afterwards over our men. We returned their salutations in the same manner. They then made us sit down upon the cane, which they had covered with bear-skins. The chief then presented the *calumet of peace* to M. D'IBERVILLE, who took it and seated himself among the savages. The other savages performed the same ceremony with our men, who all smoked of the calumet. They then brought us Indian corn, cooked in various different ways, in round and long cakes, baked in the ashes, mixed with bear's oil, or sagamite mixed with beans. We partook of a little of each sort, and gave the rest to the sailors, who carried them to the boats. M. D'IBERVILLE poured out a small quantity of brandy and water, of which each one drank but little, finding it too strong, having never before tasted of liquor. He then distributed among them beads, needles, looking-glasses, knives, and other trinkets. These ceremonies and the feasting continued until six o'clock, at which hour the chief made the young men sing, each one holding in his hand a gourd filled with small grains. They shook them in cadence, which accorded well with their voices; at the end of each song, which is short, they make

the most frightful yells; which can be heard at the distance of a league, reverberating through the woods. This ceremony having lasted two hours, the chief bid us adieu, after his manner. We gave him to understand that on the morrow we were going to his village. The Indians then lighted their flambeaux, which consisted of dried reeds tied up in bundles, and stuck in the ground and set on fire, giving out a brilliant light. Four of them began to dance around these lights, clapping their hands and touching together their feet, for about an hour. After this last dance all of them retired with the exception of four or five who remained with us.

M. D'IBERVILLE demanded of them if the *branch* (*La Fourche*) of the river was yet far distant. They gave him to understand there was none. We thought they answered thus that we might remain among them, a thing impossible, as we were too far up the river, and, moreover, it is so crooked, that in the course of six leagues, it is necessary to make every point of the compass. We marked the course of the river upon a piece of paper with a pencil, which they seemed to comprehend very well, we then gave them the pencil to mark the place where we thought the *branch* of the river ought to be. We showed them at the same time the place where our ships were, which they called in their language *pinanis* or canoes; but they persisted in saying there was no *branch* of the river. Wearied with our reiterated demands, they said there was one by which they had ascended, but that the water therein was at present very low, and they had been obliged to make several portages. At eleven o'clock at

night they made a fire near our tents, on account of the cold weather, and being without covering, they then went to rest. We did not retire until near morning. I omitted to say *that the calumet presented to the Bayagoula chief by M. D'IBERVILLE, at the main land, was about four feet long, made of steel, with the arms of France engraved upon the bowl of the pipe, and at the extremity a white flag.* They placed tobacco in it, and presented it to MM. D'IBERVILLE, BIENVILLE, SAUVOL, and Father ANASTASIUS, each of whom feigned to smoke it. They then planted two forked sticks in the ground upon which it was placed, in a leathern bag. They hold the calumet in the highest esteem.

The following is a description of the manners, habits, and customs of these savages and their mode of living and clothing. *The Chief of the Mongoulachas was clothed with a blue cloak after the fashion of the Canadians, with stockings of the same color, a cravat of a villainous red stuff, that had formerly served as a flag, all of which had been presented to him by M. DE TONTY, at the time of his descent in search of M. DE LA SALLE.* The chief professed an inconceivable haughtiness; he smiled, and looked at our men with a fixed gaze. As to the others, they were dressed with the skin of bear or deer, which covered them from the shoulders down to the knees, according to the size of the hide. The greater portion of them, however, go naked, without anything about them except a flap. The women are either clothed with a bear's skin or a flap fastened by a girdle which extends to the knees, leaving naked the breast and loins. Their hair, as

well as their beard, is all cut or pulled out, except a small cluster on the crown of the head, which they let grow long, and to which they attach the feathers of birds of various colors. They also attach ornaments to portions about their thighs, which have the appearance of horse tails, to which they fix small copper bells, which, when dancing, create a noise like that made on the road by Spanish mules. They wear upon their arms copper bracelets, and besmear their faces blue and black, and paint their eyebrows with a color like vermilion mixed with black.* They sometimes pierce the nose and ears, in which they suspend pieces of coral, or ornaments, and wood of a peculiar quality and shape. As to their food, it consists principally of Indian corn, with very little meat, which they only eat when they are hunting, or at a distance from their villages.

* The custom of the Southern Indians painting their bodies is not confined to America, but is a characteristic trait of all savage tribes. The native Britains, Germans, and Scandinavians formerly practiced it, and the aborigines of other countries continue the custom to the present day, with a view of making themselves attractive to their friends and terrible to their enemies. The substances usually employed are ochres, clays, and other minerals, the production of their country, which they will travel many leagues to obtain.

CHAPTER VI.



HE chiefs have their hunting-grounds bounded, and when another tribe intrudes beyond its own limits, it gives rise to war. During the evening, we fired off the swivel, which threw them into consternation. They repeated "*afferro*," which signifies in their language "*I am astonished*." Their village is about the distance of sixty leagues from the mouth of the river. On Sunday, at four o'clock in the morning, three of the principal men came from their village, singing and yelling, holding out the calumet, which they presented to M. D'IBERVILLE and the rest of our people to smoke. A drink of brandy was given again to each one of them. At six o'clock mass was performed, and after breakfast, we went to the village to visit the chief and carry him presents, which consisted of a scarlet coat with gold facings, red stockings, two shirts, axes, knives, beads, and mirrors. When we arrived at their village, they seated us upon mats, and gave us pipes to smoke; afterward, they brought us dried buffalo and bear's meat and bread, of which we partook, and then went out to visit the village temple, in which

they keep a fire continually burning. In the interior of the temple were figures of animals, marks of their sacrifices, and scalps of their enemies hung up as trophies. At eleven o'clock we returned to our cabins, and about noon they came to our tents accompanied by their chief, who was dressed in the coat presented to him by M. D'IBERVILLE. Very soon after there came a crowd of Indians bringing corn in the ear and grain, which they afterwards pounded and made into bread, which pleased us very much, for we were short of provisions, and knew not where to obtain fresh supplies. Some of our men afterwards went back to the village to traffic for bear's skins and deer's skins, in exchange for beads, knives, and trinkets. I noticed about the middle of their village, in an open space, what appeared to be a depot of arms. Before the door of the temple were two large posts, about forty feet in height, upon which two scalps were placed. The village contained some four or five hundred persons of both sexes, large and small.

They sleep on mats resting upon stakes, about three feet from the ground. When the weather is very cold, they kindle a fire under these mats, as they have nothing but some skins with which to cover themselves. The fields where they cultivate their millet, are near their village. They break up the ground with buffalo bones. Much of their time is spent in amusing themselves with a round stone ball which they strike with sticks. When any of them die, the body is carried about fifty paces from the village, where it is placed upon a platform raised upon four posts, and

covered with mats. Afterwards they throw up a bed of earth near by, several feet thick, upon which they place victuals for the deceased to eat.

Two different nations (allied) inhabit this village: the *Mongoulachas* and *Bayagoulas*, who speak the same language. They have two chiefs. The *Mongoulacha* chief appears to have precedence. They dwell about a quarter of a league from the river. Towards evening we made a large cross, upon which we placed the arms of France, and the next morning, Monday, the 16th, we planted it in the ground.

All the Indians from the village, with their chiefs, came to see us off. Eight of them went with us in a canoe. The chief of the *Bayagoulas* offered his services to M. D'IBERVILLE as a guide to the village of the *Oumas*. The river is very crooked in this place, with a strong current, and much augmented when the wind is in the same direction. From nine o'clock till five in the evening we made five leagues. We encamped one league above a body of water which they said was the *branch* we were in quest of, but which is nothing more than a lake extending within four or five leagues of our ships, with several portages over which the canoes must be carried. We told the chief, before taking our departure with him, that two of our men were lost in the woods while hunting, and requested him to supply them with something to eat if found, and we would remunerate them on our return.

On Tuesday, the 17th, we embarked at seven o'clock. The river was as crooked as the day before, with a current

less rapid. Two leagues from the place of our encampment we left the two bark canoes and those of the Indians, with a party of our men to hunt, as we were growing short of provisions and wished to reserve a part for our return voyage. At three o'clock in the afternoon we landed at a small river which resembled a lake, and in which the Indians said there was an abundance of fish. We found several cabins covered with palmetto leaves, which had been constructed by the *Oumas*, who come here to fish and hunt. They have even erected here a large post thirty feet high, which is ornamented with carved designs of fishes. We then fixed our nets, which we did not draw until next morning. Whilst a portion of the men went hunting, we saw buffalo and deer, which soon disappeared in the cane-brakes.

On Wednesday, the 18th, our canoes and those of the Indians rejoined us, and we went to draw the nets, in which we found but a solitary cat-fish.* As to our men whom we left two leagues below, they found a bear, which the Indians pointed out to them in the fork of a tree. One of them ascended with fire-brands, which he left in the fork of the tree. The bear, feeling the heat, left his retreat and climbed

* The cat-fish of this river (*Silurus Mississippiensis*) sometimes grows enormously large, and is still a favorite food of the Indians, when sliced and smoked. The Southern Indians were, in general, great gourmands, and lived sumptuously on wild game, fish, and oysters, buffalo, deer, and bear-meat in their season. They also freely ate corn, beans, pumpkins, and persimmons, of which they made bread mixed with corn-meal. Near all their villages and habitations they cultivated, says RIBAUT and DU PRATZ, fields of maize (corn) and another nourishing grain, called *choupitchoul*, or wild rice, which grows without culture.

higher. M. DE BIENVILLE then took his gun, and after several shots killed him. The Indians took possession of him, as they pretended they had killed him, and M. DE BIENVILLE abandoned him to them. The river here winds from west to north-east, after which it turns west by south. Toward three o'clock the Indians showed us a small stream where the water was very tranquil. They told us we could shorten our journey a day and a half by passing through that place. M. D'IBERVILLE got into a bark canoe to examine if he could pass there. He found no obstructions but a few small trees. He landed all the Canadians with their axes, and the rest of the men with ropes to haul the larger boats. We then made a route by digging away the earth as much as possible, and after rigging a tackle we passed our boats through from one side of the river to the other. There were about thirty paces of land and seventy paces of water. By this cut-off we saved a distance of six leagues, which we discovered upon our return. Whilst we were engaged in crossing this neck of land we sent several of the canoes over the river for the purpose of getting some sagamite made by the Indians.

At thirteen leagues from the village of the *Mongoulachas* we met with very high land, a thing we had not before seen since our entrance into the river. A short time after we saw an island extending N. W. and S. E., about a quarter of a league in length. The river runs to the south of the small channel we found. We made five leagues this day, and found ourselves seventy leagues up the river.

On Thursday, the 19th, at eight o'clock in the morning, we embarked on the river, and after making several leagues, we stopped at noon for dinner, which consisted of nothing but corn bread mixed with a little lard. Between one and two o'clock we started off again, and found the river wider than usual. Some of our men in the canoes having landed to see if they could procure anything to eat, found a deer freshly killed, which had probably been strangled by a wolf. M. D'IBERVILLE divided it among the two crews, and we ate of it with a good appetite, although the entrails had already begun to be tainted. The Indians smoked and dried the bear killed by M. DE BIENVILLE on the Thursday before, which made up for us an excellent repast. At six o'clock in the evening, we encamped three leagues from the *Oumas*, firing off the swivel to notify them of our approach. This day we made six leagues (eighteen miles).

CHAPTER VII.



N Friday, the 20th, having made our usual marks, we embarked at an early hour. The river winds from E. to N. E., then W. by N. The fog was so dense that we could not see an island, situated about one league below the *Oumas*. About ten o'clock we arrived on the bank of the river where

EXTRACT FROM A LETTER ADDRESSED TO FATHER *Jean de Lamberville*, CANADA; BY FATHER *R. P. Jacques Gravier*, ONE OF THE EARLIST ILLINOIS MISSIONARIES, AND WHO DESCENDED THE COLBERT (MISSISSIPPI) RIVER IN 1700-1 TO MEET *M. d'Iberville*, GOVERNOR-GENERAL OF LOUISIANA.



ON REVEREND PÈRE,

PAX Xi.

* * * * *

"M. St. Come ayant appris que M. Davion etoit à l'extrémité est arrivé de la mission des Natchés. Avant mon depart ils m'ont confirmé l'un et l'autre le naufrage du Père de Limoges qui de tout ce qu'il auoit n'a sauué que son Calice et son Crucifix. Ils luy ont donné tout ce qu'il luy falloit pour aller jusqu'au fort de Mississipi très édifiés de la joye et de la fermeté qu'il leur a fait paroître dans la perte assez considerable qu'il a fait de tous les meubles de Mission, benissant Dieu, m'ont ils dit, de ce qu'il l'avoit

the *Oumas** were waiting for us. We found three of the principal chiefs of the nation, who met us singing the song of peace, and holding out to us the calumet, which was first presented to our chief men to smoke, and then to all of us. At eleven o'clock, MM. D'IBERVILLE, SAUVOL, BIENVILLE,

*A few cabins of this ancient and interesting tribe of Indians are still occupied by the survivors of this nation in Louisiana. They believed in one great Spirit, who had made all things. They had the reputation of being great warriors, but not cruel to their prisoners. They dressed like the *Tonicas*. The women wore a fringed robe of mulberry cloth, which they spun like hemp and flax, and sometimes made mantles of skins, which covered them from the waist to their knees. They plaited their hair, and sometimes tatooed their faces, and blackened their teeth like the *Tonicas* and *Natchez*, with the ashes of tobacco.

ainsy détaché de tout ce qu'il auoit ; Il s'en faut beaucoup au reste m'a dit Mr de St. Cosme, que les *Natchés* soient aussi dociles que les *Tounika*. Ils sont poligames, voleurs, et fort vicieux, les filles et les femmes plus que les hommes, et les garçons, parmy lesquels il y a bien à reformer auant que dans espérer quelque chose. Les *Taensas*, qui ont la même langue, ont aussi les mêmes mœurs, leur village est à 20 lieues de la rivièrè des *Tounika*. Il est à 4 lieues dans les terres. Après une lieue de chemin l'on tombe sur un lac, où il y a toujours quantité de Crocodiles. Il le faut trauerser en Canot pour aller au village qui est plus ramassé que celui des *Tounika*.

"L'année passée le temple ayant été réduit en cendres par le tonnerre, qui tomba sur une matière aussi combustible que le sont les Canes dont il estoit couuert, Le vieillard qui en étoit le Gardien, dit que l'esprit étoit fâché qu'on n'eût fait mourir personne à la mort du dernier chef, et qu'il falloit l'apaiser. Cinq femmes eurent la cruauté de jeter leurs enfants dans le feu, à la veue des François qui me l'ont raconté, ou plutost les donnerent au vieillard qui les jetta dans le feu en faisant ses invocations, et en chantant avec ses femmes durant cette cruelle ceremonie, et sans les François il y eut encore eu bien des enfants brûlés. La Cabanne du chef ayant été conuertie en temple on y porta en triomphe les 5 mères dénaturées comme 5 héroïnes.

"A la pointe du détour où est village, la Rivièrè n'a guere qu'un arpent et demi de large et fait un détroit, où l'on a bien de la peine a refouler le courant

Father ANASTASIUS, and four Canadians set out with them to go to their village, the road to which is very difficult. The first half league was through a dense cane-brake, after which we had to pass through water, and then climb a steep hill at a rapid pace, for the Indians have nothing to embarrass them on the march. Having gained the top of a high

et c'est là où Mr de la Salle dit qu'il y a un gouffre où les arbres se précipitent la racine en haut et ne vont sortir qu'à plus d'une demie lieue plus bas, ce que je n'ay pas apperçu, peut estre que cela n'arriua que lorsqu'il passa ou ne s'y voit que de temps en temps. Après auoir essuyé de grandes pluies, qui durant la nuit auroient inondé tout notre bagage, si j'eusse dormy aussi profondément que nos Canoteurs, nous auons assez beau temps pour arriuer aux *Natchés* au sud des *Taensas* dont ils sont éloignez de 20 lieues. Après auoir monté une petite coste on trouue un grand chemin battu qui conduit à un grand coteau assez escarpé, les grandes eaux en couvrent plus de la moitié. Au haut de ce coteau, on découure une belle prairie, le chemin le plus battu conduit au village où est le temple; les autres qui coupent à droit et à gauche, vont à différens hameaux. Il n'y a que 4 Cabannes dans celuy où est le temple, il est fort spacieux et couuert de Cannes nattées qu'ils renouellent tous les ans avec de grandes cérémonies, qu'il seroit trop long de marquer icy. Elles commencent par un jeûne de quatre jours avec des vomitoires jusqu'au sang. Il n'y a ni fenestre ni cheminée dans ce temple, et ce n'est qu'à la lueur du feu qu'on y voit un peu, encore faut il que la porte, qui est fort basse et fort étroite soit ouuerte, Je m'imagine que l'obscurité du lieu leur inspire du respect. Le vieillard qui en est le gardien, y entretient toujours le feu, et donne bien de garde de la laisser éteindre. Il est au milieu du temple deuant un espèce de Mausolée à la manière des sauvages. Il y en a 3 de 8 ou 9 pieds de long d'environ 6 pieds de large et de 9 ou 10 pieds de haut. Ils sont soutenus sur 4 gros poteux reuestues de nattes de Cannes en colonne assez propres, et surmontez d'un plâfond de Cannes nattées. Cela auroit assez bonne grâce si tout n'étoit pas noircy de fumée et couuert de suye. Il y a une grande natte qui sert de rideau pour couvrir une grande table couuerte de 5 ou 6 nattes qui sert de rideau pour couvrir une grande table couuerte de 5 ou 6 nattes de Cannes sur lequel il y a une grande corbeille qu'il n'est pas permis d'ouuoir parceque l'esprit de chaque nation de ces quartiers repose, dit on, avec celuy des *Natches*. Je me sçay

hill, in sight of their village, we stopped to rest, for we were perspiring with the exertion and heat of the weather. They gave us pipes to smoke, and one who had told us to stop when near the village returned soon after, and made signs for us to enter. When we reached the first cabins, as it was raining, we took shelter in them for a moment, and then continued

mauvais gré de n'auoir pas ouuert la Corbeille, quoy que j'eusse fait de la peine au vieillard d'ouurir le rideau et de vouloir toucher à cette corbeille. Il y en a d'autres dans les 2 autres Mauzolées, où ils disent que sont les ossements de leurs chefs qu'ils revèrent comme des divinitéz. Tout ce que je vis de plus rare c'est un morceau de cristal de roche que j'ay trouué dans une petite corbeille, J'ay veu quantité de petits pots, plats, tasse de terre et de petits paniers de Cannes bien faits. C'est pour servir à manger aux esprits des chefs morts et le gardien du temple y trouue son compte.

"Après auoir visité tout ce qui est dans temple, je n'ay vû, ni là ni ailleurs, ni l'or, ni l'argent, ni les pierreries, ni les richesses ni les neuf brasses de perles. fines qu'on fait remarquer à l'auteur d'une relation imprimée sous le nom de Mr de Tonty, et qu'il a défauoué a celuy qui lui reprochoit toutes les menteries dont elle est remplie. C'est aussi une fable que ce que l'écrivain ose dire auoir esté vû par Mr. Tonty dans une petit armoire enchassée dans la muraille revestue de bousillage, où je n'ay vû n'y goûté aucune des liqueurs exquises dont il parle. Ce sont toutes choses controuuées par le même autheur pour embellir son histoire, Il est vrai que la femme du chef a quelques petites perles, qui ne sont n'y rondes, ny bien percées ; mais à 7 ou 8 près qui sont grosses comme de petits poix qu'on a achetées plus chères qu'elles ne vallent, Après les auoir bien cherchées, Il n'y a rien des richesses n'y des raretez qu'on a voulu faire croire se trouuer dans le temple et dans le village. Le François que Mr d'Iberville y a laissé pour apprendre la langue m'a dit qu'à la mort du dernier chef on a fait mourir deux femmes, 3 hommes et 3 enfants : ils les étranglèrent avec la corde d'un arc et cette cruelle cérémonie se fait avec grand appareil ; ces malheureuses victimes, se croyant fort honorées d'accompagner leur chef par une mort violente ; pour le grand chef qui mourut quelques mois auparavant, il n'y en eut que 7. Sa femme mieux aisée que les autres ne voulut pas le fuivre, et se mit à pleurer quand on voulut l'obliger d'accompagner son mary. Mr de Montigni qui a quitté ce país pour aller à Siam, étant averti de ce qu'ils auoient coutume

on. When we came to the principal square of the village, we met the three chiefs who had received us, each one with a cross in his hand. They took us to the temple on account of the rain, and there seated us on mats, and gave us pipes to smoke ; afterwards, corn-bread and pumpkins were brought for us to eat, accompanied with many protestations of friend-

de faire, leur fit promettre de ne faire mourir personne. Ils lui donnèrent pour garantie de leur parole une petite esclave qu'ils auoient resolu de faire mourir, sans la défense qu'il leur fit : mais pour garder leur maudit coutume sans qu'il s'en apperçut la femme du chef qu'ils appellent *Ouachil Tamail*, soleil femme (qui est toujours sa sœur, et non la femme du grand chef) luy persuada de se retirer dans un village esloigné pour n'auoir pas la teste rompue du bruit qu'on feroit dans une cérémonie où tout le monde se deuoit trouuer. Mr de Montigni ne se doutant de rien la crut et se retira, mais en son absence Ils firent mourir ceux qu'ils crurent nécessaires pour aller faire la Cuisine du chief et pour le servir en l'autre monde ; au reste il n'y a que les vieillards qui entre dans le temple pour faire leurs hurlements tels que je les ay vû faire, après avoir attisé le feu.

“ Tous les hommes qui passent deuant le temple mettent bas leur charge, et étendent leurs bras du costé du temple avec de grands hurlements, et s'ils ont de petits enfants, Ils les prennent entre leurs bras et se tournant du côté du temple, Ils leur font toucher 3 fois la terre avec le front. Ils font ces mêmes hurlements quand ils passent deuant le chef, ou la femme chef, ou qu'il leur parlent, ou qu'ils leur présentent à boire ou à manger ou à fumer. Cette femme chef a beaucoup d'esprit, et a plus de credit qu'on ne pense : son frère n'est pas un grand génie ; il s'est remarié 9 fois sans qu'aucune femme ayt pu rester avec luy ; elles l'ont toutes quitté et à présent il vit seul à son particulier.

“ Les femmes sont toutes vetues fort proprement et bien couuertes jusqu'à mijambe, avec un manteau qui descend jusqu'au dessous du genouil. La plupart ont les dents noires, et c'est une beauté parmi elles ; C'est en machant du charbon de tabac avec de la cendre, dont elles les frottent tous les matins qu'elles les noircissent.

“ Le bled n'étoit pas encore cueilly la 1ere recolte se fait en ces quartiers dans le mois de Juin, et la 2de qui est le plus abondante ne se fait qu'à la fin de Novembre. Outre qu'ils offrent au temple les premices de leurs fruits, dans ce village là, la femme chef faisoit faire la récolte du bled pour le temple, et

ship. M. D'IBERVILLE distributed among them axes, beads, two shirts, a cover-lid, knives and mirrors, some awls, and small bells. He told them he would make them other presents upon his return to the boats, which they comprehended. They all arose to thank him, by crying out three times, "*hou, hou, hou !*" and elevating their hands, a practice they do not

personne n'oser efuser ce que ses émissaires veulent prendre. C'est pour le chef et la femme chef et pour donner à manger aux esprits des chefs morts qui se fait cette récolte : mais tout le monde est du festin qu'on leur fait durant 6 jours avec les hurlemens les cris et les cérémonies ords qu'ils ne veulent pas expliquer aux Missaires à qui pour toute réponse, ils disent : *nou-kou*, c'est à dire, *je ne sçay pas pourquoi cela se fait*. Tout dépend de la comission des chefs qui ont trop d'interet de passer pour des esprits parmy leurs gens pour embrasser si tost l'humilité chrétienne.

" Nous sommes partis de ce village des *Natchez* le 24^e et le 25^e Novembre 1700. Nous auons découuert les Cotteaux des *houmas* au sud du Mississipi, qui fait une baye où l'on entre laissant sur la droite le grand canal. Il y a une bonne lieue et demie du débarquement au village des *Houmas* par un assez mauuais chemin à toujours monter et descendre et à marcher à demi courbé dans les Canons. Le village est sur la creste d'une montagne roide et escarpée de tous cotez. Il y a 80 cabannes, et au milieu du village une belle place fort unie, ou depuis le matin jusqu'au soir il y a de jeunes gens qui s'exercent à courir après une pierre platte qu'ils jettent en l'air d'un bout de la place à l'autre et qu'ils tachent de faire tomber sur deux cilindres qu'ils font rouler où ils croient que la pierre doit tomber. Le temple n'a rien de beau que le vestibule, qui est orné des plus agréables grotesques et des mieux faites qu'en puisse guère voir. Ce sont quatre satyres dont deux sont en bosse sortant tous quatre de la muraille qui ont à la teste, aux mains et aux pieds en bandeaux, en bracelets, en jaretières, en bandoulière et en ceintures des serpents, des souris et des chiens. Les couleurs en sont noires, blanches, rouges et jaunes ; et si bien appliquées et sans confusion que c'est un spectacle qui surprend agréablement. Le vieillard qui y entretient le feu qu'il nous nomma *Louäk* ou *Loughé*, feu sacré, nous fit voir les ossements de la femme chef qui mourut l'année passée. Cette femme s'étoit rendue si considérable par les coups qu'elle avoit faits sur les ennemis, ayant conduit elle même plusieurs partis de guerre, qu'on la regardoit côme une amazone et coe la

observe when making presents to each other. The chief thanking him after the same manner, made a division of the presents. The rain having ceased we placed the mats on the public square, near the cabin of the chief. The Indians then made arrangements to give us a diversion, and performed several dances with castanets in their hands; the women and

maitresse de tout le village, à qui on rendoit plus d'honneur qu'au grand chef, tenant la 1^e place dans tous les conseils, et quand elle marchoit elle étoit toujours précédée de 4 jeunes hommes qui luy chantoient et dansoient le Calumet. Elle étoit habillée en Amazone, se peignoit le visage et avoit la chevelure faite come les hommes. On ne fait dans ce village rien de tous les hurlemts ordinaires aux *Natchez* lorsqu'ils passent deuant le temple, vis à vis du quel il y a une chapelle de 50 pieds de long que le père du Rut fit bâtir le printemps passé avec une grande Croix de 35 ou 40 pieds de haut qu'il a fait arborer dans la place du village.

“ Le Père de Limoges y étoit arrivé depuis deux ou 3 jours pour s'y établir et pour trauailler à la conuersion des *houmas* qui me paroissent fort dociles. Le grand chef est fort raisonnable, et dit qu'il ne reconnoit qu'un esprit qui a tout fait. J'ay compté 70 Cabannes dans le village que j'ay visité avec le Père de Limoges qui m'a voulu donner les prémices de sa mission par le baptême que j'ay fait d'un enfant de 3 jours à qui j'ay donné le nom de St François Xavier, Patron de la mission, à qui Dieu a ouvert le Paradis peu de jours après pour y travailler à la conversion de ses parents et de ses compatriotes.

“ Le 3e Décembre 1700 nous auons célébré la feste de ce grand Saint le plus solennellement que nous auons pû et j'ay chanté la première grand' messe qu'on ait entendu dans le village. J'ay esté surpris de leur peu de curiosité. Si le Mississipi s'établit, et que cette mission ne nous soit pas otée, il y a sujet d'espérer de la docilité de ces pauvres gens, qu'on y fera du bien, les femmes et les filles y ont plus de pudeur que chez les nations voisines. Dieu veuille les convertir et rendre le chemin de leur village impracticables à certains François libertins. Tout ce qu'ils font à leurs malade, c'est de les sucer jusqu'au sang. L'en ay veu un entre les mains des vieillard Jongleurs, dont l'un sifflait et jouait da la gourde, un autre sucoit, et l'autre chantoit la chanson du Crocodile dont la peau luy seruoit de tambour.

“ Comme ils se contentent de leurs citrouilles et de leur bled qu'ils ont en

youth of both sexes joining in together, all dressed out after their fashion, which, although savage, in appearance, did not produce a bad effect. Evening coming on, they entered the cabin of the chief, where they danced until midnight; the chief never left us. He was a venerable old man of some sixty years of age. It was not until after midnight that he

abondance, Ils sont fénéants et ne vont guère à la chasse. Ils ne laissent pas d'avoir la reputation d'être guerriers et d'être crains des nations voisines. Ils ne font pas cruels, et bien loin de faire mourir aucun des esclaves qu'ils font, Des qu'ils entrent dans le village, les femmes pleurent sur eux, les plaignant d'avoir été pris, et les traitent ensuite mieux que leurs enfants. Quand quelques uns de leurs gens vont à la chasse, les femmes se mettent à pleurer comme si elles alloient les perdre, Et quand ils reviennent de la chasse elles pleurent de joye de les revoir.

“ Il y a peu de villages en France où il y ait plus de poule et de coqs que dans celui des *Houmas*, aussi n'en tuent-ils jamais, et ne veulent pas même manger de celles que leurs chiens tuent assez souuent. Quand on veut avoir de poulets d'eux il ne faut pas dire qu'on les veut tuer ou manger, Ils auroient de la peine à les donner; mais ils les vendent volontiers quand on ne les tue pas en leur présence, ou qu'on leur dit qu'on les emporte pour les élever comme eux. Les poules ont des petits poulets en tous temps, Et dans le mois de Décembre il y en avoit dans toutes les Cabannes. Aussi sont elles chaudement dans ces Cabannes qu'ils ont soin de tenir propres, et qu'ils balient 2 ou 3 fois le jour.

“ Les enfants, les hommes et les jeunes gens sont habillez comme les *Tounika*. Les femmes portent un habit frangé, qui les couvre depuis la Ceinture jusqu'au dessous des genoux. Quand elles sortent de leur Cabanne elles se couurent d'une robe de rats musqués ou de plumes de coqs-d'Inde. Elles ont le visage piqué et figuré, et les cheueux tresses come les *Tounika* et les *Natchés*, et se noircissent les dents comme elles. Quoique tous les sauuages craignent extrêmement le froid, à la moindre gelée (car il n'y a pas d'hiver) Ils se vont baigner grands et petits, et sortent de l'eau transis de froid. C'est un vieillard qui fait le cris au point du jour quand il gèle. Ces sortes de bains leur causent quelque-fois le flux de sang qui en emporte plusieurs. Au reste le Père de Limoges commence à se faire entendre, et fera du bien dans cette mission, Il m'a raconté son naufrage ou il a tout perdu, et la perte est plus considérable qu'on ne peut

left us in the cabin. I forgot to mention that when I was about to return at four o'clock, he took me by the arms and made me sit down, giving me to understand that I had not time to reach the boats, which were in fact three good leagues distant from the river. We asked about the *branch* of the river, but we could not gain any information from them, a

croire. Plus d'une mission s'en ressentira ; ce fut en se laissant deriuer la nuit au Courant que leur Canot heurta contre un arbre qui étoit arrêté au milieu du courant qui lui fit faire la pirouette et demeura sur le costé plein d'eau, et s'il ne fut arrêté promptement à l'arbre, Il se seroit noyé à demi endormi. Il a tout perdu hors son calice qu'il sauua le tirant je ne sais comment hors de la cassette. C'est tout ce qu'il pût conserver et c'est un espèce de miracle qu'il ait pû se sauuer luy même, après auoir disputé sa vie presque 3 heures au moyen d'une branche d'arbre que le courant emportoit, et à laquelle il s'estoit attaché avec ses deux matelots. Il s'est laissé aller au courant, qui la enfin poussé à terre et après s'estre sesché sans feu au vent et au soleil du mieux qu'ils ont pû, ils ont fait un Cajeu de 3 ou 4 pieces de bois flottant qu'ils ont liés avec des harres et on navigués 3 jours entiers sur ce nouveau canot, toujours entre deux eaux sans manger autre chose durant ce temps là qu'un peu de pourpié sauvage tout cru. Ce chér missionnaire m'a dit la qu'il s'est lors souuenu avec fruit de St Francois Xavier disputant sa vie autant de jour avec les eaux sur un bout de planche. Il découurit le 4e jour le feu de quelques *Akansea* qui étoient à la chasse. Il en fut reçu et ses compagnons fort humainement. Ils leur donnèrent à manger et les conduisirent jusqu'à leur village ; où le Père trouua son Canot qui s'estoit arrêté à des embarras de bois. Il a depuis esté équipé de tout ce qui est nécessaire pour sa mission des *Houmas*.

"D'ou je partis le 4e Décembre 1700 et après 3 lieues de naigation nous trouâmes au nord du Mississipi la Rivière Rouge, dont on parle tant. Si la 3e tentative que les François y ont fait depuis 7 ou 8 mois reussit, les missionnaires y auront un passage pour aller à diverses nations qui bordent cette riuère qui court au sud est : elles ne sont presque toutes qu'en petits hameaux, comme les *Natchés*, ce qui fait dire à ceux qui veulent donner de grandes idées de toutes ces nations qu'il y a des villages sans fin, et de 3 ou 4, 5 ou 6 lieues d'étendue voulant faire passer des hameaux de 3 ou 4 cabanes esloignez les unes des autres pour la commodité du terrain, pour autant de villages, de la même nation. Mr de Bien-

circumstance that troubled us very much ; not knowing what course to pursue, and believing that they wished to deceive us, we became dissatisfied with them. On Saturday morning, the 21st, we interrogated them again in relation to the *branch* of the river, but without any success; and when we

ville qui a pénétré le plus avant, m'a dit que tout étoit inondé dans le mois de Mars et d'Avril, qu'il y avoit de petites hauteurs chez les *Natchitoch* assez peuplées où le bled luy venoit à l'épaule.

“ A la fin de Mars Mr de St. Denis doit aller jusqu'aux *Kadodakio*, et au lieu d'aller du costé des *Senis* où les assassins de Mr de la Salle s'estoient retirez, Il a dû prendre sur la gauche, et pousser jusqu'aux *Kioühaa*, les plus éloignez que l'on scache, où l'on espère trouuer des mines. Il doit estre icy de retour à la fin de ce mois, et s'il ne trouue pas des mines d'argent, on n'a rien moins que ce que l'on cherche dans l'établissement de Mississipi qui inonde toutes les terres à plus de 80 lieues de son embouchure à quelques petits cantons près.

“ Le 10e nous auons dit la messe de St. François Xavier pour commencer la dévotion des 10 Vendredis. Le lendemain nous sommes arrivés à la Croix qui marque le village des *Baiougoula* au nord du Mississipi, et à 40 lieues des *Houmas*. Commé les eaux ont esté extraordinairement hautes cette année, elles ont miné le coteau de plus de 10 pieds de long d'où la Croix est tombée avec les terres qui se sont éboulées; Je ne suis pas allé jusqu'au village et ce n'est qu'à mon retour de *Bilocchi* que j'ai visité les *Baiougoula* dont le chef a fait massacrer celui des *Mongoulacha* avec plus de deux cents hommes de cette nation, qui étoit fort portée pour les François et qui faisoit village avec les *Baiougoula* comme font les *Pioüaroüa* avec les *Kaskaskia*. Le sang de tant d'Innocents crie vengeance, aussi Dieu commence-t-il à les punir par la famine et la maladie, et ils doivent craindre que les *Houmax* et les *Kolapissas* ne vengent le meurtre de tous leurs alliez: Je n'ay rien vû de si gueux. Je sçay quelques mots de leur langue; mais comme plus de deux tiers étoient absens du village, d'où la faim les auoit chassés, je n'y ay resté que 4 jours, ils m'ont promis de rétablir la chapelle et de faire tout ce que j'ay demandé, mais si le chef n'est bien loin de là il n'y a pas grande chose à faire pour un Missionnaire: J'ay fait planter une grande Croix sur la coste à la place de celle que les eaux ont emportée. Elles ont crû de vingt pieds de haut.

A 5 lieues plus bas que le village on trouue au Nord un petit bras du Missis-

were about to depart, the chief desired us to remain, as the women were gathering millet for us, and as soon as they returned would go with us to the river. Six of our men, feeling apprehensions for our safety, came fully armed to join us. We left them between eleven and twelve o'clock. On going out from the cabin of the chief, we gave him a salute

sippi dont parle Mr de la Salle ; qu'il dit auoir plus de 30 brasses d'eau, et est fort commode pour les grands vaisseaux ; mais, Mr Iberuille qui a fait visiter et sonder, n'y a pas trouué d'eau pour une chaloupe. Plus nous approchons du bas du Mississipi, plus nous allons à l'est et à l'est sud est ; nous trouuons aussy plus de courants et de méchants Cabannage, et dans les aunages toujours de la terre glaise ; ou bien il nous faut entrer bien auant dans le bois où il est difficile de pénétrer et de n'y pas trouuer d'embarras de Canes, d'où l'on ne peut se tirer.

"Depuis les *Natchés* nous n'auons vecu que de bled d'Inde avec quelques citrouilles. Car il y a longtemps qu'on ne voit en ces quartiers n'y bœuf n'y chevreuil ni Ours ; et si l'on a trouvé quelques outardes ou oyes sauvages, elles étoient si maigres, qu'elles n'auoient pas plus de goust que du bois, ce qui a fait soupirer bien des fois tous nos canoteurs après la riuère des *Illinois*, et pour la beauté du pays et des débarquements, et de la quantité de bœufs et de cheureuils et de toutes sortes de gibier gras et excellents. C'est une nauigation bien longue que celle du Mississipi, bien ennuyante et bien difficile surtout à remonter, et bien incommode à cause des coussins et autres mouches appelées maringouins, brulots et moustiques, et des grandes pluyes, les chaleurs excessives, les méchants débarquements dans la boue et dans la terre glaise, souuent jusqu'à mi-jambe et pour la méchante chère. Si l'on ne part avec un Canot a demi chargé de viures, on doit s'attendre à bien jeûner, et j'ay de la peine à croire uue nos sauvages d'en haut et du pais des *Illinois* viennent cherché icy des marchandises de si loin avec tant de peine et tant de risque. La pirogue des *Baïougoulas* que nous auons rencontré ne faisoit pas plus de 3 ou 4 liettes par jour. Ils étoient mal vêtus pour la saison, Car ils n'auoient qu'une demie peau de Cheureil pour se garantir du froid, encore y auoit-il une vieille qui étoit si miserable qu'elle n'auoit qu'un peu de mousse pour se couvrir. Plusieurs vieilles gens parmi tous ces sauvages n'ont pas d'autres habits.

"Je suis enfin arriué le 17e Decemb. 1700, au fort de Mississipi, après 68

with our guns. At the last cabins we gave a second, and having reached the summit of the hill, we gave a third. The Indians who accompanied us did so also ; and the women wept bitterly at our departure. At one o'clock we arrived at our camp, and gave our people an account of all that happened the day previous. They offered the women to our

jours de navigation en descendant. Ce premier établissement est au fud de ce fleuve à 18 lieues de son embouchure, Il n'y a ni fort n'y bastion, n'y retranchements ni redoutes, tout consiste en une batterie de 6 pieces de canon, de 6 et de 8 dressée sur le bord de la Coste, et en 5 ou 6 Cabannes séparées les unes des autres couvertes de lataniers. Le Commandant Mr de Bienville y a une petite maison assez propre ; Je me suis apperceu en arriuant qu'on commençoit à crier à la faim, et que les farines commençoient à manquer, ce qui m'a obligé pour n'estre pas à charge à personne de me mettre aux viures sauvages, et de me contenter de bled-d'Inde fans viande n'y poisson, jusqu'à l'arriuée des vaisseaux qu'on n'attend gueres qu'à la fin de Mars ; si l'on établit le Mississipi l'on transportera le fort, ou plustot on le fera aux *Baiougoulas* à 40 lieues plus haut : car les grandes eaux débordent si furieusement icy qu'ils ont esté 4 mois dans l'eau, et souuent jusqu'à mi-jambe hors de leurs Cabannes quoique les Sauvages les eussent asseurez que ce lieu n'inondoit jamais. Le bled qu'on auoit femé icy etoit déjà assez haut quand l'Inondaon, qui se fit d'un furieux coup de mer dans le mois d'Aoust l'emporta. Le jardinage n'a guères mieux réussi, outre qu'il y a une grande quantité de serpents noirs qui mangent les laictües at les autres légumes jusqu'à la racine. Pour ce qui est du fort de *Bilocchi* à lieues d'icy, outre que l'air y est meilleur, le païs plus découvert l'on y fait toute sorte de jardinages. Le cheureuil en est tout proche et il y a très bonne chasse ; et pour y temperer la châleur qui y seroit excessive, tous les jours une heure ou deux auant midy, il vient un vent de la mer qu'ils appellent la brise qui rafraichit l'air. Il n'y a que l'eau qui n'y est pas fort bonne. C'est une petite source qui la leur fournit ; car celle de la Baye est plusque sommatre et n'est pas potable. Cette baie qui donne le nom au fort, prend le sien des sauvages *Bilocchis*, qui en sont les plus proches, et s'appelle la baye de *Bilocchi*. Il y a plus de 120 hommes dans ce fort bien régulier avec 12 pieces de canon et autant de pierriers braqués fur les bastions ; Il n'y a que les chaloupes et le traversier qui ne porte pas 100 tonneaux qui puissent entrer dans cette baye, les vaisseaux n'en peuuent

officers, who politely thanked them. This was another mark of their friendship, and of the alliance they desired to make with us. Two hours after our return we saw the chief, accompanied with a great number of Indians, bringing with them a large quantity of Indian corn, already prepared.

approcher que de 5 lieues et demeurent à la rade deuant une Isles, où il y a bon mouillage, et que s'appelle l'Isle des vaisseaux : Il n'y a point de ports dans tout ce pays que celui des *Pansacolas* dont les Espagnoles se sont emparez, et où ils ne s'estoient établis que 3 semaines auant que Mr d'Iberville fut arrivé à la Coste. Le fort de *Bilocchi* n'est éloigné que de 30 lieues de celui des Espagnols, l'entreprise du gouverneur luy réussit mal l'année passée. S'estant avancé avec deux nauires, il fut surpris de trouuer 4 gros vaisseaux à la rade, et une forte garnison au fort. Il dit par galanterie aux officiers qu'il visitoit la coste pour en chasser les Anglois. Mr d'Iberville qui visitoit le Mississipi auoit auerti de se menager avec les Espagnols et de bien recevoir le gouverneur s'il venoit à son bord selon l'ordre qu'il en auoit luy même de la cour ; il fut regalé magnifiquement, *Vive le Roy de France, Vive le Roy d'Espagne, Vive Mr d'Iberville*, avec quantité de volées de canon, et en partant il laissa une lettre pour Mr d'Iberville. C'estoit ses propositions dont il scauoit bien qu'on se moqueroit. A peine eut il quitté nos vaisseaux, qu'il fut pris en pleine mèr d'un coup de vent qui fut ouvrir et perdre son vaisseau. Il se sauua dans une chaloupe avec peu de gens et reuint a nos vaisseaux. Nos officiers faisant paroître auoir plus de déplaisir qu'ils n'en auoient, le reçurent parfaitement bien, l'équipèrent généreusement de tout, et le firent reconduire dans une double chaloupe avec toutes les rames et chapeaux bas, jusqu'à son fort des *Pansacolas*. A son départ il fut encore salué d'une décharge de toute nre artillerie. Il a esté fait grand maitre de l'artillerie d'Espagne, et son Major a esté fait gouverneur qui a enuoyé une chaloupe au fort de *Bilocchi* à Mr de Sauvol pour réclamer 10 hommes par le Major nouveau, prétendant qu'ils auoient déserté : mais dans le fond ce n'estoit que pour visiter le fort qui ne les craint pas, et pour venir chercher de la toile et des hardes ; car ils manquent de tous. Ils ont achepté tout ce qu'ils ont trouué, et dit qu'ils reviendroient quand ils scauroient que nos vaisseaux seront arrivez, quoique l'on soit déjà court de viures du moins de farine françoise, car le Lard, les Poix et les séues n'y manquent pas encore le Gouverneur a fait cacher le bled d'Inde, et a fait paroître du pain François dans

Each one bore a wooden cross in his hand, and made a solemn procession around the one we had planted, throwing tobacco upon it, and singing after their manner. They then presented the calumet to our officers, and one of them ad-

tous le fort, il a parfaitement régale le Major de volailles, cochon de lait et chevreuil, vin de Madère ; l'equipage a été regalee à proportion et à donné au Major toute sorte de rafraichissements pour son retour, et a fait présent au nouveau Gouverneur d'un fusil de grand prix.

" Au reste pour aller d'icy au fort de *Bilocchi* Il faut faire en partant un portage d'un bon demi quart de lieue dans la vase et dans l'eau jusqu'aux genoux, et faire provision d'eau autant qu'il en faut pour aller jusqu'à *Bilocchi* car la petite rivière que l'on trouve à un quart de lieue d'icy est sommatre, c'est à dire qu'elle est mellée d'Eau de mer, elle se décharge dans un lac de 2 lieues de traversé et après avoir couru 5 ou 6 lieues au Sudest, sur la mer le long des Isles, on coupe au nord est, au large des Isles jusqu'à 7 lieues du fort, qu'on gagne la terre ferme que l'on suit jusqu'à l'entrée de la Baye de *Bilochi*, à la velle du fort, où il faut traverser.

" J'y suis arriué le 1er jour de l'année 1701, où j'ai été bien reçu du Gouverneur. *J'y ai trouvé le Père du Ru.* Outre les fonctions de missionne il fait encore celles d'Aumonier d'une manière très édifiante. *Je n'ay resté que 8 jours avec luy et j'ay esté onze jours à me rendre icy par la faute de notre guide qui a perdu sa route,* et qui nous a fait manquer un vent favorable qui nous eust rendu au fort le 3e jour, mais après avoir consommé notre demie barrique d'eau, nous l'avons remplie d'eau soumatre, qui a fait plus de peine à mes Canoteurs qu'à moy qui me suis accoutumé à ne guère boire en voyage. Nous auons tous fait méchante chère ; car nous auons esté réduits au seul bled d'Inde durant 4 jours et il estoit aussi dur après avoir bouilly toute la nuit dans cette Eau soumatre que quand on le mettoit dans la chaudière. *Nous allions sur la mer ou golfe Mexique d'Isle en Isle, et plus nous nauignons plus nous nous éloignons de notre route.* Dans cette extremité n'ayant presque plus d'eau soumatre, nous nous recommandasmes à Dieu. Je promis de faire une neusuaïne à l'honneur de St. François Xavier et de dire la messe en actions de graces dès que je serois arriué au fort. Le lendemain nous nous rembarquâmes dans notre canot et à une heure après midy nous nous trouuâmes à la pointe aleri que nous auons doublée depuis 4 jours, d'où nous auons coupé aux Isles du large. Nous auons fait deux grandes trauersées de 5 lieues au sud sud est et à la velle des bois du Mississipi

dressed M. D'IBERVILLE for the space of half an hour. We listened to them attentively, although we did not comprehend a single word they said. The youth danced until midnight by the light of torches made from dried cane, and

nous sommes enfin graces à Dieu entrés dans une riviere où nous auons étanché notre soif et qui nous a conduits a demi quart de lieue du Mississipi ou nous sommes heureusemt arriuez et après un demi quart de lieue de Portage nous nous sommes trouuez à 8 petites lieues du fort ou nous sommes arriuez l'onzième jour de notre départ de *Bilocchi*. Sans la protection de St. François Xavier je crois que nous eussions encore long temps rodé sans eau. Je suis party le lendemain pour aller aux *Baiougoulas* qui sont 40 lieues plus haut : je n'y ay fait qu'une partie de ce que je voulois y ayant trouué peu de monde. Dieu m'a fait la grâce d'y baptiser un petit enfant de 2 ans moribond à qui j'ay ouuert le ciel.

"Je suis de retour dans ce fort depuis 4 jours. L'arrivée des vaisseaux qu'on attend de jour en jour me determinera sur ce que je dois faire, si j'attendray l'arrivée de Mr d'Iberville, ou si je remonteray aux *Illinois* par les premiers canots. Au reste il n'y a pas de vaisseaux qui puisse entrer dans la riviere de Mississipi s'il tire plus de 9 ou 10 pieds d'eau ; Car il n'y en a qu'onze à l'embouchure. L'entrée passée, il n'y a pas de vaisseaux qui ne puissent naviguer fort avant dans cette riviere. Il y a icy 15 à 16 brasses d'eau, la plupart des flutes qui n'en tirent que 9 pourroient y entrer bieu auant, Car le batiment Anglois que Mr d'Iberville trouva l'année passée a 8 lieues d'icy tiroit encore moins d'eau. Le capitaine auoit pour se conduire la relation de Mr de la Salle, et de quelques autres fort mauvais memoires qui font mention de l'embouchure de ce fleuve. Cet Anglois qui en parloit à Mr de Bienville s'applaudissoit de ce qu'il avoit pu trouver l'entrée du Mississipi dont un de ceux qui en ont écrit est un apostat qui a présenté au roy Guillaume la relation du Mississipi, où il ne fut jamais, et après mille mensonges et de ridicules vanteries, Il prétend faire voir les justes prétentions et le droit incontestable que le Roy Guillaume à sur le Mississipi etc. * * * * *

"Priez Dieu pour nous, mon R. P. et croyez que je suis avec beaucoup de respect dans l'amour de N. S.

"Mon révérend Père,

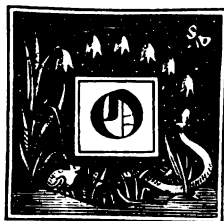
"votre très humble et très

"obéissant serviteur

"JACQUES GRAVIER."

to the music of two sticks which they struck against each other. During the evening, M. D'IBERVILLE made them numerous presents, among other things a beautiful embroidered scarlet carpet, axes, hatches, etc. On their part, they presented us with the skins of the bear and deer. During the night more than forty of them returned to their village, and brought back a quantity of corn, pumpkins, meat, and fowls.

CHAPTER VIII.



ON Sunday, the 22d, the chief of the *Bayagoulas* made a speech to M. D'IBERVILLE; the chief of the *Oumas* did the same; they then marched around our cross, singing and throwing tobacco upon it, from time to time, as if it were incense. The preceding day M. D'IBERVILLE asked them if it was yet very far from the *branch* of the river? but they repeated, they had no knowledge of it. We drew a map of the river with a pencil, and marked the name of the nations who dwelt upon its borders, but they still persisted in manifesting their ignorance of that which we sought for. We thought the chief of the *Bayagoulas* had prevented them from giving information, for the reasons already stated. We asked them how far it was to the *Coroas*, a nation living on the river above them, and mentioned in the narrative of M. DE LA SALLE. They gave us to understand it was nine days' journey. We feigned a desire to go there for the purpose of seeing an Indian who would go with us, and who was a *Tensas*, a nation living above the *Coroas*. About ten o'clock

we embarked ; the chief of the *Oumas*, and some of his principal men came to escort M. D'IBERVILLE to the boats, taking him by the arm for that purpose. The chief of the *Bayagoulas* did the same to M. DE SAUVOL, to whom they extended the calumet. Eight of them, including the wife of the chief, embarked in a canoe to accompany us to the village of the *Chelouels*, who are their allies. M. D'IBERVILLE, took the *Tensas* with him, in order that he might point out to him (*la Fourche*) the *branch* of the river, but he persisted in saying there was none. He gave us to understand that the *Oumas* had been expecting us at their village for three days past, and were waiting to entertain us. Their village is on the other side of the river, in a direct line not over two short leagues distant ; whilst to follow the course of the river the distance is eighteen leagues. He also traced for us the course of the river, the nations who dwell upon its borders and its tributaries. We landed again after having gone about a league for the double purpose of dining and again interrogating them relative to the *branch* of the river, but they still insisted there was none. After two hours' reflection M. D'IBERVILLE resolved to proceed no farther, but to return to the ships. At three o'clock we embarked in our boats and landed at the *Oumas*. As soon as we arrived M. DE BIENVILLE and two Canadians set out for their village, which is about two leagues distant on the bank of the river. The route thither is very difficult ; nevertheless, they arrived there at six o'clock. They found there the chief of the *Bayagoulas*, whom we had left on the river bank when we

parted. We told them, if they desired to come with us to their village, we would start early next morning, and that it was for this purpose that we were come to the village of the *Oumas*. They promised us to be ready early in the morning, and descend the river with us. They then departed, and we retired to our tents at eight o'clock. They told us the women wept at our departure, sympathizing with the difficulties we had encountered in so long a voyage. A short time after, three women arrived with a load of pumpkins. M. D'IBERVILLE presented them with some strings of small bells, and they promised to return in the morning.

On Monday, the 23d, the chief of the *Oumas*, with two of his principal men, came, holding a small wooden cross in their hands, and marched around our cross, upon which they threw tobacco; and soon afterwards, all the inhabitants of the village arrived, some bringing Indian corn, others millet, which we accepted. Then the chief presented the calumet to our officers. M. D'IBERVILLE presented to them hatchets, knives, mirrors, beads, etc., in exchange for their grain. They thanked us after their fashion, by uttering three times, *hou! hou! hou!* Their village is composed of about six or seven hundred persons, who are more civilized and honest than the first. M. DE TONTY remained among them some time, when he came down the river in search of M. DE LA SALLE in the month of April, 1686. They placed their dead upon elevated platforms, as was done in the other villages. When any of them are taken sick, the others sing around him to drive away the evil spirits. The place where we

landed was elevated ten or twelve feet above the water, but is inundated more than a foot deep at the period of high waters, coming from the mountains and melting of the snow, which generally happens towards the end of April, or the beginning of May, and by more than two hundred streams and rivers, which discharge their waters into this. In its course it tears out great trees by their roots which are carried away by the current. We met with a multitude of them on islands far distant from the mouth of the river. At six o'clock we went on board of our boats. The chief took MM. D'IBERVILLE and SAUVOL by the arm and conducted them on board. We shouted three times "*Vive le roi !*" and they responded after their fashion. This day we made thirteen leagues upon our journey, and saw that we had shortened our route by the portage we made on the 18th more than six leagues, although the distance across was not more than one hundred paces from one side of the river to the other. At six o'clock we encamped ; we boiled the pot, with a deer which had been killed in crossing the river by those who were in the bark canoes. It rained nearly all day, which caused the *Bayagoula* Indians, who were with us, to stop about two o'clock.

On Tuesday, the 24th, about six o'clock, we again embarked. Having gone four leagues, we found the canoe and the Indians, who had stopped on account of the rain. They had crossed the portage and abridged their route. At three o'clock we encountered a small stream, in which there was but little current, and had the appearance of a lake. The

Indians pointed it out to us, and told us this was the route to the sea, nearly opposite where our vessels were anchored, but that it was necessary to make several portages. We walked on foot to its entrance. M. D'IBERVILLE went down it a piece to see if it would admit our long-boats; but seeing that it was clogged up by logs and dead trees fallen across, he resolved to send us by the way we had come, whilst he took the resolution to proceed by this channel * with two bark canoes. He took one Indian with him and gave orders for presents to the chief of the *Bayagoulas*. He carried some with him to present to the *Ananis* and the *Mouloubis*, who inhabit the borders of this river, in order to make an alliance with them. This small channel has its course E. S. E. and W. N. W. It is four leagues above the village of the *Mongoulachas*. The starboard point upon entering has about ten feet elevation, at the extremity of which is a large tree. The larboard point is lower, not having more than five feet above the water. It is about ten paces wide at its entrance. About seven o'clock we arrived at the village of the *Mongoulachas*, and fired a swivel to notify the Indians of our arrival, although we were in sight of the village. Many of the Indians came to us singing, and presented the calumet to M. DE SAUVOL. They informed us that the two lost men were at their village, which gave us joy inexpressible, for we feared that they were lost forever. During the interval the wallet of Father ANASTASIUS, in which was his breviary,

* The river, or small stream, was afterwards known by the name of *Iberville*.

was lost, together with a manuscript narrative of all that had passed during the voyage. He thought it had been stolen from him by an Indian, who had embarked with us from the *Oumas*, because he had his eyes constantly fixed upon it. This loss rendered him inconsolable.

On Wednesday, the 25th, the day of the Annunciation of the Holy Virgin, at six o'clock in the morning, Father ANASTASIUS returned to the village with our officers, they for procuring provisions, he for the purpose of hunting up his breviary. He made complaint to the chief that some of those who had visited our tents in the morning had stolen his breviary. The chief comprehended him and called out for his people to assemble, which they did immediately. He asked if any of them had found the wallet. At the same time Father ANASTASIUS began weeping to arouse their sympathies. These poor people appeared very much disconcerted, and looked at each other in astonishment. Finally, as it could not be found, Father ANASTASIUS was obliged to return after having wept in vain at all their cabins. We gave the chief to understand that our officers were waiting for him at the bank of the river. They signified that they were pulling corn to bring to us, to make bread with, and whilst waiting we made an exchange of a gun for a young Indian slave of twelve or thirteen years of age; we also gave them some powder and balls. This poor child, although she was a slave, wept bitterly at parting with these savages.

Early next morning we again visited the village, when the

chief of the *Mongoulachas* gave to M. DE SAUVOL a letter from M. DE TONTY, written from the nation of the *Quinipissas*, in the month of April, 1686, addressed to M. DE LA SALLE, in which he stated that he had descended the river with twenty-five Frenchmen, five *Illinois*, and five *Chaouanons*, who dwelt upon the *Illinois* River, where M. DE LA SALLE had built *Fort St. Louis*. There were in all thirty-five men. He mentioned, that having learned that his vessels were lost and that he was at war with the savages on the sea-board, he had descended to bring him relief. He gave him all the news from *Canada*, and concluded by stating that he had made peace with all the tribes through which he had passed. M. DE LA SALLE had previously left *France*, in 1684,* to seek for the mouth of the River *Mississippi*, in the *Gulf of Mexico*, and having gone beyond it (as we have seen from the journal of the pilot who was with him), he did not recognize it. Moreover, he had descended the river at a time when the country was overflowed, and returned when the waters were low, which caused him to deviate from his true course more than eighty leagues to the west. The inhabitants of *St. Domingo* had told him that the tides would carry him in an easterly direction; a fact which is true of the *Bahama Channel*; but when one has entered the gulf, the tides have westerly bearing, a circumstance which was the cause of his error and misfortune. Finally, M. DE TONTY

* JOUTEL's Historical Journal of M. DE LA SALLE's last Voyage, in 1684, to discover the mouth of the Mississippi. Historical Coll. of Louisiana, vol. I. pp. 85-195.

returned, contenting himself with leaving this letter,* and another one eight leagues from the sea, suspended upon a tree. He had sent two canoes, one to the eastward, the other to the west. They traversed over twenty-five leagues, but according to their narrative, the want of fresh water obliged them to return.

The chief had also some engravings ; a New Testament, a gun and a letter. He preserved them all very carefully. M. DE SAUVOL gave him some hatchets and knives for the letter, but left with him the engravings and the New Testament. He gave him, also, some powder. The chief did not want to show us this letter when we ascended the river, as he took us to be Spaniards. At ten o'clock we set out in our boats to return to our ships. We took with us our two men who were lost, and whom the savages found on the bank of the river, on their return from hunting. We saw those same hunters on the 7th, the time our men got lost. They remained two days in the woods, among thick canebrakes, unable to find the bank of the river, because of its windings and the thick growth of underbrush. They subsisted upon snakes after cutting off the head and tail, as they could find nothing else to eat. After two days they found the place of our encampment and remained there for some time. They then followed the bank of the river, ascending, because they knew there was a village not very far distant,

* "Historical Collections of Louisiana and Florida," part I., pp. 30-40. Also "M. DE TONTY'S Memoir, from 1678 to 1691," pp. 53-78.

as we had been informed by the Indians we had met below. The same day they saw two canoes descending the river and hailed them. The Indians landed, gave them corn and meat, and told them to remain there until their return in two or three days, when they would take them back with them. They returned on the 18th, and brought them to the village, where they were supplied with sagamite, corn bread, and pumpkins, cooked upon coals. They made signs to them not to eat too much, for fear it might not agree with them. The chief treated them with the greatest kindness in the world, and even offered to go home with them himself, to our ships; this offer was made upon condition that we did not return this way. At six o'clock we encamped about two leagues below the place where our men were lost. We made twelve leagues this day.

CHAPTER IX.



ON Thursday, the 26th, we started at four o'clock in the morning, having breakfasted upon sagamite, which we had cooked the night before, together with some provisions remaining of those we had obtained from the *Oumas*. At five o'clock we landed upon the starboard side (right bank), having made nineteen leagues this day. On Friday, the 27th, we landed at five in the evening, having gone sixteen leagues. The bread we had was so sour and mouldy that it was almost impossible to eat of it. On Saturday, the 28th, we pursued our route at six o'clock, and at ten found two outlets or arms of water which ran nearly parallel with each other, one running S., the other S. E. M. DE BIENVILLE stopped at the forks to wait for us. He asked M. DE SAUVOL if he wished to make soundings in descending to the sea, who replied that it was not necessary, as the sea was already in sight on the west, and the other outlets appeared to be obstructed by small islands and trunks of trees. M. D'IBERVILLE had given him orders to sound the passes,

more particularly that which discharges itself to the eastward, and which was a half league lower down. We, in fact, found it about a half hour afterward. It is divided into two passes, and runs directly N. N. E. and E. We took the one to the west, and upon sounding at the entrance found eight fathoms, but an instant after we grounded. The boat rounded to, on account of the rapidity of the current passing out to the sea. The other boat following, grounded and made fast in the river. One of our men jumped into the water and carried a cable to them, by which it was hauled off. We remained here some time to take the altitude and discover the exact latitude of the mouth, which was only two and a half leagues from that spot. We made it $28^{\circ} 41'$. Descending a little lower down, we landed to pitch our tents. Our men went out hunting, and killed some ducks. We found a species of wild cat, rather larger than those of Europe, with a head somewhat resembling a fox's. We killed them with clubs. They had a strong fishy flavor, as they live upon them and such birds as they can catch. I believe they are amphibious.

On Sunday, the 29th, we embarked with a light breeze from the E. S. E. As we approached the pass we found the depth of water diminishing gradually from six, four, and three fathoms, and passed into fourteen, thirteen, and eleven feet of water in the middle of the channel, which was not more than a pistol-shot in breadth. There were breakers on both sides. We steered directly east in going out. We saw eight passes in going out. The two to the north ap-

peared filled with breakers everywhere, which obliged us to take the one to the south, where I believe in low water there ought to be twelve feet of water; but there is now two feet of bank (or levee), caused by the sea being always rough, on account of the depth of water and the rapidity of the current. In going out of this pass we found from fifteen to sixteen feet of water.

When we got a little sea-room we steered directly N. along the mud mounds, which seem nearly to barricade the entire entrance, which here lies N. and S. We discovered a bay that runs W. and N. W. We steered N. W. for two leagues, the wind ranging E. and N. E., weather fine. Towards noon we saw, from the topmast, an island which we could not clear on account of the wind. One league from this island, in a westerly direction, we saw breakers running S. W., and when we were in musket-shot of the point, being very much embarrassed, as we could not see the land, although the weather was clear, we resolved to pass between the breakers, and in case of touching bottom, to throw ourselves into the sea and shove off our boats, which, thank God, we were not obliged to do; for we passed them very easily, although slightly touching. One of our men went up the mast to see if there was any other island on which we could encamp for the night. He only saw one, which appeared large and full of lakes. We had much difficulty in reaching the shore. There were many fish of the species of the sting-ray, armed with a dart, by which one of our sailors was wounded. The puncture was so dangerous that he feared

he would lose his leg, and it was two months before he was able to walk. This island, from its center, was ten leagues N. E. from the mouth of the river.

On Monday, the 30th, the crews of the two boats pushed them off one after the other, as, the sea having subsided, they were hard aground. We sailed directly north, with little wind and no land in sight on either side. At eight o'clock we saw a large island before us. At nine o'clock we were opposite to it. It is distant and extends about three leagues north from the last one. Towards noon the wind sprang up and we made N. E., to pass between two small submerged islands, which we had left to the starboard of us. At four o'clock we reached an island which appeared two leagues in length. There were several small islands to the larboard of us, which are nothing but a portion of the main land. As we approached we saw a point making into the open sea, which we doubled by steering N. N. E. Afterwards we made N. $\frac{1}{4}$ N. W., for an island which was two leagues in advance of us, where we arrived at six o'clock. As the wind had freshened, we made for the leeward point, where there was a shell-bank about seven feet high, and a quantity of salt thrown up by the sea in time of storms. We threw up a shelter for the night, but the musquitoes were so troublesome that they nearly devoured us, although we kindled fires to drive them away. At nine o'clock we saw a large fire to the N. W. $\frac{1}{4}$ W. of us, at a great distance off. We could not tell if it was on an island or on the main land. Our progress this day was fifteen leagues north.

On Tuesday, March 31st, we set sail, wind E. S. E. We steered N. N. W., for fear of missing our ships, and in order to reconnoiter the river; after proceeding an hour alternately by oar and sail, we saw a cluster of islands which formed a kind of bay, through which there appeared to be a pass. They seemed to form a counter coast and were nearly contiguous to the main land. Those to the N. E. appeared high, covered with large trees. We recognized them as the islands lying two leagues to the west of our shipping; a circumstance that gave us great joy, being about to end the misery we had suffered during this long and painful voyage. After having doubled this island we saw the two ships to the east of us; and were obliged to bend to the oars, as the wind was directly ahead, and strong enough to raise a large swell of the sea. We reached our ships a little after midday. We learned that M. D'IBERVILLE had arrived on board his frigate that morning, with the two bark canoes, which we had left behind more than sixty leagues up the river. He had made his way through a small body of water which discharges itself nearly opposite our vessels, and is nothing more than a lake. They were obliged to make more than eighty portages, on account of the vast number of fallen trees that crossed each other in every direction in this small channel (*canal*). They told us they had run great risks from the numerous crocodiles that swarmed in those lakes. They said also that they had seen hundreds of buffaloes. The same day M. D'IBERVILLE detached MM. DE SAUVOL, DE LA VILLANTRAY, and DES OURDYS, ensigns, to sound a river

lying ten leagues to the east of our anchorage, in order to establish a small colony there, as he was unable to find a suitable place upon the river on account of its overflows.

On Wednesday, April 1st, the felucca returned with the report that there was not sufficient water to land. On Thursday, the 2d, MM. D'IBERVILLE, and DE SAUVOL went with two feluccas to sound the coast and a river to the west of us, where he had passed after leaving us in the Mississippi. On Friday, the 3d, at ten o'clock at night, our officers arrived on board, after much difficulty, having deviated from their route by reason of the thick fog prevailing, and having passed the island where we were anchored, and not being able to distinguish the light we had placed on the mizzen top-mast. The sea was so rough, they came near being lost in the small boats. Saturday, the 4th, the wind blew so strong from the north as to prevent our gun-boats and long-boats from taking their departure for the river which is ten leagues to the eastward of us, there being no other suitable place found along the coast to effect a landing. On Sunday, the 5th, at seven o'clock, MM. D'IBERVILLE, DE SURGÈRES, and the other chief officers, took their departure in two feluccas, with forty men, from each ship, soldiers, as well as carpenters and sailors, with a number of axes and other iron instruments, to clear away the trees on the bank of the river which M. DE SAUVOL DE LA VILLANTRAY had discovered.

On Monday, 6th, MM. DE L'ESQUELET and BIENVILLE returned, and reported that the place was unsuitable for an establishment, as there was not a sufficiency of water on

the bar to permit the long-boats to pass over, which gave a great deal of uneasiness to M. D'IBERVILLE and the other officers. On Tuesday, the 7th, MM. D'IBERVILLE and SURGÈRES went in search of a place, and observed an elevated situation that appeared very suitable. They sounded and found seven to eight feet water, which induced them to cross with their boats, and construct the fort there, as they could find no spot more convenient, and our provisions failing, we could search no longer. *On Wednesday, the 8th, we commenced to cut away the trees preparatory for the construction of the fort.* All our men worked vigorously, and at the end of the month it was finished. In the mean time, the boats were actively engaged transporting the powder, guns, and ammunition, as well as the live stock, such as bulls, cows, hogs, fowls, turkeys, etc. In fact, everything was taken from the ships that could be spared, leaving only what was absolutely necessary for our return to France.

On Palm Sunday, the 12th, Father ANASTASIUS went on shore with M. DE BEAUHARNAIS, ensign, at four o'clock in the morning, to perform the ceremony of Mass to our people who were working at the fort; but the wind rising, they were obliged to put back. The wind slacking at eleven o'clock they set off in the long-boat. At two o'clock M. DE SURGÈRES returned in a felucca. On Holy Thursday, the 16th, Father ANASTASIUS went on shore with M. DE BEAUHARNAIS to administer the Holy Sacrament to those working at the fort. The long-boat was laden with guns and balls. Scarcely had they gone a league from the ships when the

wind sprang up with great violence, and the rain fell in torrents, so as to render it necessary for two men to keep bailing the boat, which came within little of being swamped. We wished ourselves on board of the ships; nevertheless, we kept on our route and arrived at the *fort* at two o'clock. The rain continued from Friday, the 17th, to Saturday, the 18th, and poured down as if the flood-gates of heaven were opened; the waters of the lake for some distance around were fresh several days from the heavy rains, a thing almost inconceivable, but true.

On Easter Sunday, the 19th, Father ANASTASIUS confessed all those who presented themselves; he then performed Mass, and afterwards Vespers, and delivered a sermon.

On Monday, the 20th, at eleven o'clock, Father ANASTASIUS, having finished confessing, departed with M. DE L'ESQUELET for the ships, to administer the Sacrament to all those who had not yet received it. We continued to work actively on the fort, and to designate those who were to remain there. For that purpose the very best men were selected, with two detachments of soldiers to place with the Canadians and workmen, and the sailors who were to serve on the gunboats. M. DE SAUVOL DE LA VILLANTRAY,* Lieu-

* It does not appear, from the letters or journal of M. DE SAUVOL DE LA VILLANTRAY, that he was a brother of M. D'IBERVILLE, although often so stated by American historians. M. DE SAUVOL's life in Louisiana was short; he died at *Fort Maurepas, Biloxi*, of yellow fever, Aug. 21st, 1701, during the absence of M. D'IBERVILLE in France. He left an interesting journal of what took place from his arrival in Louisiana up to within a few days of his death; which has been published in the third volume, first series, of the *Historical Collections of Louisiana*, pp. 223-240.

tenant of a company, and naval ensign of the frigate *La Marin*, was made *Governor*; M. DE BIENVILLE of the marine guard of the frigate *La Badine* next in command; and after him M. LÉVASSEUR, a Canadian.

On Friday, the 1st May, and Saturday, the 2d, we brought on board those who had been working. *The fort was made with four bastions, two of them of squared logs, from two to three feet thick, placed one upon the other, with embrasures for port holes, and a ditch all around. The other two bastions were stockaded with heavy timbers which took four men to lift one of them. Twelve guns were mounted.**

* M. D'IBERVILLE having now built a fort and founded his colony at the bay of *Biloxi*, as the most convenient place to establish commercial relations with the Indian tribes of the country, the West India Islands, Mexico and Europe; he set sail for France, but did not return until the following year, when he was informed by M. DE SAUVOL that two English armed ships had entered the river to establish a colony on the banks of the *Mississippi*. But on being informed that it was not that river, they sailed back to the Gulf, and went to the province of *Panuco* to establish a colony there, which they failed to effect, and afterwards returned to England. In the meantime, for the safety of the colony, M. D'IBERVILLE ordered another fort to be built on the banks of the river, and returned to France for more colonists and provisions.

CHAPTER X.



ON Sunday, the 3d, M. DE SAUVOL came on board at eight o'clock in the morning to bid farewell! He debarked on the gun-boat and in parting gave three cheers of "*Vive le roi.*" After his departure M. D'IBERVILLE unfurled his top sails, and we immediately hoisted anchor, although the wind was contrary. We cast anchor again in the evening, afterwards we set sail again, proceeding slowly, as we were obliged to tack about frequently. Nothing of importance transpired on the 20th, except that we met a small English vessel. We then passed the *Dry Tortugas* and *Matanzas*. On Friday, the 22d, we perceived three ships, and waited to follow them, because no one on board had ever passed up the *Bahama channel*. As they approached they hoisted the English flag, and we hoisted the French flag. The admiral hoisted his broad *pennant*, and asked where we were from. We replied "From *St. Domingo.*" He then asked us if the captain of the King's ship that was wrecked, was on board. He then hailed the *Badine* to know if we were in company, and asked

where she was from. M. D'IBERVILLE replied that he was from the *Mississippi*, otherwise called the *Malbouchia* by the Indians. Seeing that we gave different names, he took us for *corsairs*, and as night was approaching, he fired a gun as signal for the rest of the fleet to keep close to him and be upon their guard. On Saturday, the 23d, M. D'IBERVILLE, wishing to approach the English admiral, the latter made a signal that he would fire upon him. In fact, we saw that the port-fires were prepared. They would have been beautifully accommodated if they had commenced the action. After a while they recognized us and made all sorts of professions of friendship, offering to render us any service in their power that we might need. From that time we followed them, the wind directly ahead, being forced to keep a strict look-out.

On Monday, the 25th, strong breeze ahead. At noon we broke our rudder and hoisted the red flag. In less than an hour repaired damages. The English admiral sent a boat on board to know if we required any assistance. We informed him that we had broken our rudder, but had made all right, and thanked him for his polite offer. We soon after learned that a similar accident happened to M. D'IBERVILLE. We were not done yet. About five o'clock, as we were going to supper, we heard three guns fired from the admiral, to notify us that we were running upon the sand-banks. In fact, we had scarcely time to tack about, as the bottom was in full sight; we were much alarmed, and, without joking, were well pleased to be in English company, and guided by their

maneuvers, in this channel. On Tuesday, the 26th, we saw the danger we had passed through, and thanked God for our safe deliverance. All our men were much fatigued, having been constantly on duty. The wind becoming favorable, we parted company with the English, our frigates sailing much faster than theirs. We kept our course E. N. E., with fine weather up to the 10th of June.

On Wednesday, the 10th June, the wind blew from the S. W., and at midnight it blew so violently, that we reefed top-sails, and left nothing but the mainsails. Towards noon the gale increased to such a degree that we were obliged to reef the mainsails, and run before the wind under bare poles. At two o'clock the ship was ungovernable, and shipped water so that everything was afloat upon the leeward ports. The sailors were so worn out with fatigue they could do nothing. We tore away the poop and threw it overboard, and would have done the same with the guns, had we not feared being capsized. Finally, having struggled three quarters of an hour between two seas, without obeying the helm, she came around and righted herself. We all thought our last day upon earth had arrived. Two of our men were drowned from the water which penetrated our port-holes. The *Badine* was not so unfortunate as we were. She had separated from the *Marin*, and we did not see her again until our arrival at *Roche fort*. After this storm we had fair winds, and cast anchor in the roads of *Chebois*, on Tuesday, the last day of June.

On Wednesday, July 1st, we transported our sick to the

hospital at *Rocheport*. It was time that we had returned, as two-thirds of our men were sick and unfit for duty; and on the following day (Thursday), the 2d, we weighed anchor and went to the island of *Aix*, and afterwards entered the harbor of *Rocheport*, France, for further orders.

NOTE.—Instructions were issued for a third voyage to Louisiana, dated August 27, 1701, and in the following June, 1702, M. D'IBERVILLE returned to France. A war broke out afterwards between France, Spain, and England, and when about to set sail a fourth time for the *Mississippi*, at the close of the year 1704, he was taken seriously ill at *Rochelle*, and was unable to leave France until the Spring of 1706. On reaching the West Indies, he attacked and captured the island of Nevis, and on arriving before *Havana*, the same year, he died of yellow fever, after a short illness, the colony having thus lost in him a hero worthy of their admiration and regret.

ADDENDA.

The death of M. D'IBERVILLE was severely felt by the colonists, and the more so as, during the long interval of absence from the colony until his death, jealousies were excited among the several colonial authorities which proved prejudicial to the growth of the colony. Even under these adverse circumstances the colony received more from the bounty of LOUIS XIV. than was contributed by all the English monarchs together, for the twelve English colonies on the Atlantic coast.

The number of colonists still exceeded that of Jamestown, in Virginia, and Plymouth, of Massachusetts. France took possession of Texas, and by no treaty or public document, except the general cession of Louisiana, nor did she ever after relinquish her right to that country as colonized under her banners, and more surely a part of her territory, because the colony found there its grave. And notwithstanding the French had been more than once frustrated by Spain in their attempts to form a settlement on the bay of *St. Bernard (Matagorda)*, yet the French continued their efforts, and sent for this purpose M. DE LA HARPE in 1721, under a Royal order, with troops, engineers, and draftsmen, to make a more accurate survey of the country than had been done by his predecessors.

He found at the entrance to the bay twelve feet of water on the bar, and four large rivers falling into it, also the country fertile and beautiful; and on the coast of this bay he planted the arms of France, and took formal possession, in the name of his Sovereign, the right of France to it having been derived from the actual discovery, settlement, and possession of M. DE LA SALLE, in 1685. (*See Foutel, Tonty, and La Harpe's Historical Journals, published in vols. 1 and 3 of the first series of the Historical Collections of Louisiana.*)

France was too feeble to stretch her colonies at this time far to the west of the *Mississippi* river, but her rights were esteemed so clear that in time of peace the attempt to occupy the country was renewed. This second attempt of M. DE LA HARPE to plant a colony near the bay of *Matagorda* had no

other result than to incense the natives against the French, and to stimulate the Spaniards to the occupation of the country by forts. Yet the French ever regarded the mouth of the *Rio del Norte* as the western limit of Louisiana.

After the purchase of Louisiana from France, in 1803, a negotiation took place in 1804 between the United States and Spain, to determine the southwestern boundary of Louisiana ; but the claims of the former were regarded to be inadmissible, and the discussions were broken off. Finally, in 1819, the discussion was renewed at the request of Spain, in relation to the Floridas, as well as the boundary line of Louisiana ; and the only authorities produced on the part of the United States, of the slightest value, were the journal of LA SALLE's expedition to Texas, by JOUTEL, in 1685 ; the letters of LA HARPE ; and the orders of Governor BIENVILLE, published in vol. 3 of the first series of the " Historical Collections of Louisiana ;" while Spain showed that, in 1698, she built the *Presidio* of *San Antonio de Bexar* ; and in 1716, that of *Espiritu Santo*, subsequently called *Goliad*, and claimed the territory watered by the *Guadaloupe*, and all to the west of it, by which she obtained an undisputed right, both by occupation and discovery, as LA SALLE never went far to the west of the *Colorado* river, while to the east of the *Colorado*, on account of his discovery, could any French claim be possibly set up. Louisiana remained a French colony until 1763. By the treaty of *Paris*, on the 10th of February, of that year, made between England, France, and Spain, the countries of Nova Scotia, Canada, and Cape Breton were ceded to Eng-

land, and the limits of the remaining French settlements on the west were irrevocably fixed by a line drawn along the middle of the river *Mississippi* from its sources to the river *Iberville*, and from thence by a line drawn along the middle to this river and the lakes *Maurepas* and *Pontchartrain* to the sea. The river and fort of *Mobile*, and everything which France possessed being ceded, except the town of *New Orleans*, and the island on which it is situated. By the twentieth article of the same treaty, Spain ceded to England Florida, with fort *St. Augustine*, and the bay of *Pensacola*, and all that it possessed on the continent of North America, to the E. or S. E. of the river *Mississippi*.

By a secret treaty of Nov. 3, 1762, signed the same day on which the preliminaries of peace between Great Britain, France, and Spain were signed, in which France ceded to Spain "all the country known under the name of Louisiana, as also *New Orleans* and the island on which it is situated"—that is, so much of Louisiana as had not been agreed to be transferred by France to Great Britain.

On the 3d September, 1783, by the treaty made with Spain, East and West Florida were ceded by Great Britain, and Spain thus became again possessed of these, her ancient colonies. By the treaty also made on the 3d September, 1783, between Great Britain and the United States of America, the independence of these States was recognized, and their north-western, western, and southern boundaries were defined. In October, 1800, Louisiana was retroceded by Spain to France, "with the same extent that it now has in the hands of Spain,

and that it had when France possessed it, and such as it should be after the treaties subsequently entered into between Spain, and other States." It was an act of retrocession, but it transferred so much less than France originally held, as had been shorn from it by the treaty of 1763, which gave to Great Britain, and through Great Britain to the United States, nearly the entire eastern bank of the *Mississippi*. In 1803, France sold Louisiana to the United States, the entire country originally held by her, and retroceded by Spain. In 1804 a negotiation took place between the government of the United States and Spain to determine the southwestern boundary of Louisiana ; but the claims of the former were regarded to be inadmissible, and the discussions were broken off.

In 1819 the negotiations between Spain and the United States were again renewed, and were finally terminated by a treaty, called the Florida Treaty, signed at *Washington*, Feb. 22, 1819.

The claim of the United States to all Texas was then abandoned. The southwestern boundary of Louisiana, previous to this treaty, was the *Aroyo*, midway between *Natchitoches* and the *Adais*, this having been the dividing line before the session of Louisiana to Spain, in 1762. By the Florida treaty, the boundary west was fixed to be the river *Sabine* to 32° latitude, thence due north to the *Rio Roxo* or *Red* river, of *Natchitoches*, thence westward along this river to 100° west longitude, from *Greenwich*, and 23° from *Washington* ; thence to its source in 42° latitude until it meets the parallel of lati-

tude 42°, and thence along this parallel to the *Pacific*. The reason, therefore, for abandoning the claims to Texas, made by the United States, was the acquisition of the Floridas.

This peaceable settlement of the Texas territory afterwards finally resulted in its annexation to the United States in 1845, under different circumstances, and after the people of that Republic had established an independent government. Those who had opposed the measure, both in and out of Congress, now looked upon it with other eyes, and all agreed that the United States could not do without Texas. Among those who most rejoiced was the venerable ex-president ANDREW JACKSON. He had watched the struggle of the Infant Republic for Independence since 1835, with an earnest solicitude; and when the question of annexation came before Congress, he viewed it as absolutely necessary, to carry out the "MONROE doctrine," and prevent hereafter the intermeddling of European powers with the governments of this continent.

MEMOIR OF THE TAKING POSSESSION OF THE COUNTRY ON
THE UPPER MISSISSIPPI.

Canada, Bay des Puants.

Record of the Taking Possession, in His Majesty's Name, of the Bay *des Puants* (Green Bay), of the Lake and Rivers of the *Outagamis* (Fox River), and *Maskoutins* (Lake Winnebago), of the River *Ouiskonche* (Wisconsin), and that of the *Mississipi*, the Country of the *Nadouesioux*, the Rivers *Ste. Croix* and *St. Peter*, and other places more remote. 8th May, 1689.



NICHOLAS PERROT, commanding for the King at the post of the *Nadouesioux*, commissioned by the Marquis DE DENONVILLE, Governor and Lieutenant General of all New France, to manage the interest of commerce among all the Indian tribes and peoples of the Bay *des Puants*, *Nadouesioux*, *Maskoutins*, and other Western Nations of the *Upper Mississipi*, and to take possession in the King's name, of all the places where he has hitherto been, and whither he will go.

We this day, the eighth of May one thousand six hundred and eighty, do, in presence of the Reverend Father MAREST of the Society of Jesus, Missionary among the *Nadouesioux*; of Monsr DE BORIE-GUILLOT, commanding the French in the neighborhood of *Ouiskonche*, on the *Mississipi*; AUGUSTIN LEGARDEUR Esquire, Sieur DE CAUMONT, and of Messieurs LE SUEUR, HERBERT, LEMIRE and BLEIN; Declare to all whom it may Concern, that having come from the Bay *des Puants*, and to the lake of the *Ouiskonches*, and to the river *Mississipi*, we did transport ourselves to the Country of the *Nadouësioux*, on the border of the river *Saint Croix*, and at the mouth of the River *Saint Peter*, on the bank of which were the *Mantantans*, and farther up into the interior to the North east of the *Mississipi* as far as the *Menchokatonx*, with whom dwell the majority of the *Songestikons* and other *Nadouëssioux*, who are to the North east of the *Mississipi* to take possession for, and in the name of the King, of the countries and rivers inhabited by the said tribes, and of which they are proprietors. The present Act, done in our presence, Signed with our hand, and subscribed by the Reverend Father MAREST, MESSRS. DE BORIE GUILLOT and CAUMONT, and the Sieurs LE SUEUR, HEBERT, LEMIRE and BLEIN.

Done at the Post, *St. Anthony*, the day and year aforesaid. These presents are in duplicate; Signed to the Original—JOSEPH JEAN MAREST of the Society of Jesus; N. PÉROT, LEGARDEUR DE CAUMONT, LE SUEUR; JEAN HÉBERT, JOSEPH LEMIRE and F. BLEIN.

Memoir

SENT BY THE KING TO M. DE DENONVILLE, GOVERNOR-GENERAL OF NEW FRANCE, EXPLANATORY OF THE FRENCH POSSESSIONS IN NORTH AMERICA, ESPECIALLY THE SOUTH PART OF ACADIA, FROM PANTAGOUET TO THE KENNEBECK RIVER; OF THE IROQUOIS AND HUDSON'S BAY; DONE AT VERSAILLES, THE 8TH MARCH, 1668.

Signed,
And lower down.

LOUIS.
COLBERT.

TRANSLATED FROM A COPY OF THE ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPT, DEPOSITED IN THE
ARCHIVES OF THE MINISTÈRE DE LA MARINE ET DES COLONIES, PARIS.

CHAPTER I.



MEMOIR or Abstract of the discoveries of New France, as well of what we, as of what the English have discovered from the *Virginias* to *Davis Strait*, as of what they and we can pretend to according to the report of the historians who have written thereupon, as I report below, which will enable every one to judge dispassionately of the whole.

If a desire exist, then, to treat this matter thoroughly, and to be perfectly informed of the right of the French and of the English, it is necessary only to read the abstract of

Sieur DE CHAMPLAIN;* everything will be found very well examined, and it will appear that the French have taken possession of all the countries from Florida to Cape *Breton*, prior to any other Christian prince.

That in 1504, the Bretons and the Normands† first discovered the Great Bank and Newfoundland, as can be seen in the "History of Sieur WITFLIET DE MAGIN," printed at *Douay* (entitled, "*Descriptionis Ptolemaicæ Argumentum*").

In 1524, JEAN VERRAZZANO, in virtue of a commission from FRANCIS I., took possession of the territory, beginning at the thirty-third degree of latitude, as far as forty-seventh.

In 1562, RIBAUT and LAUDONNIÈRE, having gone to Florida, by authority of King CHARLES IX., to inhabit and cultivate that country, founded Carolina there in the thirty-fifth and thirty-sixth degrees.‡

* "*Les Voyages de la Nouvelle France Occidentale*," par le Sr. DE CHAMPLAIN, Geographer to the King. Paris, 1632.

† The first voyages of the Bretons of *St. Malo*, and the Normans of *Dieppe*, which occurred in 1504, were exploring as well as fishing voyages. Two years later, in 1506, JEAN DÉNYS explored the Gulf of *St. Lawrence* (*Golfo Quadrado*), and made a chart of the Gulf and of the mouth of the *St. Lawrence*. The Bretons and the Normands went over from the Banks of Newfoundland to the continent, from fishing to planting. They carried the race, the language, the religion, the customs, and also the traditions and the songs, of Western France to North-eastern America, where, for a long time, they outstripped the English, the Portuguese, and the Spaniards, and became for many years more influential than all their rivals; and, for a long time, was the battle ground for the conflicting claims of France and England.

‡ See RIBAUT's account of his first voyage to colonize Florida, in 1562, printed in this volume with notes. Also, LAUDONNIÈRE's history of the voyages made by him and RIBAUT to found a colony of French Protestants in Florida, 1564-7. (*See first series of the Historical Collections of Louisiana and Florida*, pp. 165-360.)

But particularly in 1603 and following years, *Sieur DE CHAMPLAIN*, being in Canada, was in command of that colony, and in 1609 went with two other Frenchmen into Lake *Champlain*, of which he took possession in the name of King *HENRY IV.*, and called it after himself; and that after he had discovered Lake *Champlain*, he went as far as the country of the *Iroquois*.

In the years 1611 and 1612, he ascended the *Grand* river (*Ottawa*), as far as Lake *Huron*, called the *Fresh Sea*; he went thence to the *Petun* nation, next to the *Neutral* nation and to the *Macoutins*, who were then residing near the place called the *Sakiman*; from that he went to the *Algonquin* and *Huron* tribes, at war against the *Iroquois*.

And as it is an established custom and right, recognized among all Christian nations, that the first discoverers of an unknown country not inhabited by Europeans, who plant the arms of their prince there, acquire the property of that country for that prince in whose name they have taken possession of it.

On that principle, and no author being found who states that the English had taken possession of the countries of Canada, or discovered them, unless subsequently to the French, they having come to the countries of Canada, Virginia, and Florida, only in 1594, whilst the French took possession of them in 1504, 1524, 1534, and 1562, which fact the English cannot question, inasmuch as *JACQUES CARTIER* *

* *CARTIER*, after having explored, to a considerable extent, the gulf coast of the *St. Lawrence*, on the 24th July, 1534, entered *Gaspé Bay*, and erected a

visited in 1534 all the coasts of that country; his relations and those of ALPHONSE XAINTONGOIS and VERRAZZANO attest it, and are inserted at length in the collections of divers accounts which PURCHAS and HACKLUYT, Englishmen, have published in London, in their language. And it is notorious that Sieur CHAMPLAIN did for many years prosecute the fur trade at the place where Boston now stands, and farther down towards the north or east, along the same coast, during more than ten years, before any English or Dutch inhabited that quarter.

The foundation of the English pretenses is this:—About the year 1594, some Englishmen being on the coasts of Florida, arrived at a place they called Mocosa, and which they since named Virginia. JAMES, King of England, granted them, for their encouragement, great privileges, among others to extend their right from the thirty-third degree to the forty-fifth or forty-sixth. The Royal Charter was issued on the 10th of April, 1607, in these words: *Potestatem facimus occupandi possidendique tractus omnes ad gradum usque quadragessimum quintum ita si a christianorum principe nullo teneantur.*

This is all the foundation the English have; it is manifestly null, because it is stated in the above letters patent of King JAMES:—We grant them all the countries up to the forty-fifth degree, not possessed by any Christian prince.

cross thirty feet high, and took possession of the country for his King, and on the 25th set sail for France, and arrived at *St. Malo* on the 5th September, 1534.

Now, it is indubitable that at the date of the aforesaid grant the King of France was in possession of at least up to the fortieth degree of latitude, the place where the Dutch since settled.

And in 1603 Commander DE CHASTES was lieutenant-general for the Most Christian King in New France from the fortieth to the fifty-second degree, and it is even certain, as already stated, that, as early as the year 1523, JEAN VER-RAZZANO took possession of all the countries from the thirty-third to the forty-seventh degree.

And in 1564-5 the French, in the name of CHARLES IX., took possession of Florida, in the thirtieth and thirty-first degrees, where fort Caroline was situate. All this is clearly seen in the Abstract of Sieur DE CHAMPLAIN, which it is well to consult in order to have fuller knowledge thereof.

The King's edict of the month of May, 1664, will also show, among other things, that the property of Canada, Acadia, the island of Newfoundland, etc., the main lands from the north of Canada unto Virginia and Florida, did belong to the West India Company, to which it was granted by the King, as far and as deep as they could extend into the interior.

And by another, revoking said Company, of the month of December, 1674, his Majesty has united to and incorporated with the domain of his crown all the said lands and countries, to wit, among others, Canada or New France, Acadia, the island of Newfoundland and other islands, and the main

land from the north of said country of Canada unto Virginia and Florida.*

Acadia having been taken by the English from the French during the war between France and England, and peace being afterwards concluded between the two crowns, Chevalier DE GRANDFONTAINE, his Most Christian Majesty's commander throughout the entire coasts and countries of

* When the French began their settlements in Canada, or New France, the country was one vast and unbounded forest, and property was granted in seigniories, stretching along the *St. Lawrence* three hundred miles or more, on both sides of the river. "It was RICHELIEU who first planted feudalism in Canada. It prevailed in old France, and it was natural it should also prevail in the New. The seignior was usually the immediate vassal of the crown, from which he had received his land gratuitously. In a few cases he made grants to other seigniors, inferior in the feudal scale, and they, his vassals, granted in turn to their vassals, the *habitants* or cultivators of the soil. Sometimes the *habitant* held directly of the crown, in which case there was no step between the highest and lowest degrees of the feudal scale. The *seignior* held by the tenure of faith and homage; the *habitant*, by the inferior tenure *en censive*. One condition was imposed on him, which may be said to form the distinctive feature of Canada, on feudalism: that of clearing his land within a limited time, on pain of forfeiting it. As the seignior was often the penniless owner of a domain three or four leagues wide, and proportionably deep, he could not clear it himself, and was compelled to place the greater part in the hands of those who could, but was forbidden to sell any part of it, and must grant it without price, on condition of a small perpetual rent. The greater part of the grants made by the old company of New France reverted to the crown for neglect to occupy and improve the land. On repeated occasions, negligent seigniors lost the whole or a part of their land. Most of the seigniories were simple *fiefs*, but there were some exceptions. In 1671, the King, as a mark of honor to TALON, erected his seigniorie *Des Îlets* into a barony, and soon after made it an earldom, *Comté*; the seigniorie of *St. Laurent*, an earldom; the seigniorie of *Portneuf*, a barony; and in 1700 three seigniories on the south side of the *St. Lawrence* were united into the barony of *Longueuil*."—*Parkman's Old Régime in Canada*. The income of the *seignior* was derived

Acadia, and Chevalier TEMPLE,* lieutenant-general and governor of those countries for the King of Great Britain, made a treaty at Boston on the 7th July, 1670, restoring to France the forts of *Pentagouet*, of the river *St. John*, *Port Royal*, *Cape Sable*, *La Heve*, and generally all the lands and rivers comprehended within the said country of Acadia, conformably to his Britannic Majesty's letter, of which *Sieur DE GRANDFONTAINE* was bearer, and Articles X. and XI. of the Treaty of Breda, as is to be seen by the said treaty, of the 7th July, 1670.

from the yearly rent of his lands. Possessed of this advantage, he in time attained a state of comparative affluence ; but by the practice of divisions among the different children of his family, he, in a few years, became reduced. The most ample share, which retained the name of the seigniory, is the portion of the oldest son ; the other portions were denominated *fiefs*. And in the course of a few descents, the *seignior* was possessed of little more than his title. A law abolishing feudal tenures was passed in Canada, in 1854, regulating the relations of seigniorial landlords and their tenants. The number of fiefs, or feudal estates, at the time of passing the act, was ascertained to be two hundred and twenty, possessed by one hundred and sixty seigniors and about seventy-two thousand renters, occupying over twelve million acres of land.

* Sir THOMAS TEMPLE was a kinsman of Lord SAY. Having obtained with others, from OLIVER CROMWELL, in 1656, a grant of Acadia, including Nova Scotia, and come to New England in 1657, when the persecution of the Quakers was at its height, he endeavored, most humanely, though ineffectually, to save the lives of those of that sect who were condemned to be executed. He was re-commissioned Governor of Nova Scotia and Acadia by CHARLES II. in 1662, in which year he visited *New York* and *Fort Orange* to suppress the incursions of the *Mohawks* into his territory. This, however, was soon after ceded to France by the treaty of Breda. He declined to comply with the terms of the treaty, on the ground of the non-payment of £16,000, which England afterward agreed to pay him. Thereupon he returned to England, and died in 1674, having devised his interest to WILLIAM NELSON, who transferred it, in 1730, to SAMUEL WALDO of *Boston*.

In consequence whereof said *Sieur DE GRANDFONTAINE*, on the 14th of August following, commissioned *Sieur DE MARSON* sub-licutenant to take possession of *Port Royal* and of the fort of the river *St. John*, whence it appears that said *Sieur DE GRANDFONTAINE* was at *Pentagouet*; wherefore, it is to be noted that *Sieur ANDROS*, Governor of Boston, ought not to have, this year 1688, plundered *Sieur DE ST. CASTIN*, at *Pentagouet*, as he has done.

It is also to be remarked that, besides the said treaty concluded between said *Chevalier DE GRANDFONTAINE* and *Chevalier TEMPLE*, they have concluded still another, which bounds the country of Acadia and separates it from that which the English occupy by the river *Kennebeck*.

And to come to the right of property the French have over the country of the *Iroquois*. In addition to what has been already stated by *Sieur DE CHAMPLAIN*, he has been twice at war (in that country) long before the Dutch or English of *Manat* or *Orange* had set foot on shore. Not to mention the fact that the King has, for over forty years, kept at his own expense, in the *Iroquois* country, several Frenchmen, who, with some Jesuit missionaries, have been to build and have resided in the five *Iroquois* cantons all at the same time, down to these latter days, when the rumors of war forced them to retire, one after another.

CHAPTER II.



IN 1656, M. DE LAUZON, the King's governor and lieutenant-general in New France*, sent, at the solicitation of the *Iroquois* themselves, into their country, to a place called *Ganentaa*, as many as sixty Frenchmen, including a garrison of twelve soldiers under the command of Sieur DUPUIS, who caused to be constructed at that place a royal fort, whither were conveyed four pieces of bronze cannon, which have remained there, and will be found again by the French who were there at the time and are still living. This is proved by said Sieur DUPUIS' commission of the 15th May, 1656. In which country the said sixty Frenchmen cleared and planted lands with French grain and other legumes,

*"The governor-general and the intendant was a military noble, in most cases bearing a title, and sometimes of high rank. The intendant, as in France, was usually drawn from the *gens de robe*, or legal class. The governor was superior in rank to the intendant. He commanded the troops, and conducted relations with foreign colonies and Indian tribes. The intendant was virtually a spy on the governor-general, and every year he wrote to the Minister of State, filled with the secrets of the colony, political and personal. The governor, intendant, and Supreme Council were absolute masters of the province, under the pleasure of the King."—*Parkman's Old Régime in Canada*.

built many large houses, and lived there peaceably and without any opposition on the part of those who were then in possession of *Manat* and *Orange*, who, far from being masters of the country of the *Iroquois*, purchased from them some portion of their lands, when they wished for any, as they still do at present. And what is worthy of remark is that the *Iroquois* themselves came, in 1655, on an embassy to *Quebec* to request of said Sieur DE LAUZON those sixty soldiers aforesaid, and conducted them the following year to the said place of *Ganentaa*, where they located, established, and put them in possession (Inquest made by the Lieutenant-Governor of *Quebec*, the 29th and 30th October, 1688. App. G.), and where they remained until, the *Iroquois* having committed some acts of hostility in the direction of *Montreal*, the commander of said fort thought proper to retire with his garrison in order to protect the sixty men aforesaid from the wicked designs the *Iroquois* had concocted against them.

And in order to show that the country of the *Iroquois* was at the disposition of the Governor of *Quebec* to make grants thereof, in the same manner as of the other lands of his government, it is worthy of remark, that, at the time Sieur DUPUIS was sent with his soldiers on the part of the King, to construct the aforesaid fort of *Ganentaa* and garrison it, M. DE LAUZON made a grant in due form of a part of said lands to the Jesuit missionary fathers, who were of the sixty Frenchmen aforesaid. (The deed is dated the 12th of April, 1656.)

In 1665, as is proved by the copy of the articles of peace of the 13th December, 1665, the four *Iroquois* Nations* of *Onnontagué*, *Oneida*, *Cayuga*, and *Seneca* being come to sue for peace, it was granted them by M. DE TRACY, according to the terms thereon concluded.

And in order to check the *Mohawk* Indians, who were frequently coming to kill our French people even in their settlements, M. DE TRACY went with an armed force in 1666 as far as their country, of which he made himself master, and set up the King's arms there, taking by that means, possession anew of the *Iroquois* territory, without any opposition on the part of the English who were then at *Manatte* and at *Orange*. This is proved by the *prise de possession* thereof,

*.When the territories of Canada were discovered, they were found to be inhabited by numerous Indian tribes belonging to three out of the ten great families of savages who occupied the region between the *Mississippi*, the Atlantic, and the *Esquimaux* country, namely, the *Algonquins*, *Hurons*, *Sioux*, *Cherokees*, *Catawbas*, *Uchees*, *Natches*, *Choctaws*, *Chickasaws*, *Creeks*, etc. These were considered substantive races, because each spoke a language bearing no analogy with that of the others, and which was not understood by others when spoken; yet the individuals of each tribe composing a nation, however far apart, could understand the language of every other tribe of that nation, while they could not communicate with the men of an alien nation. The *Huron* tribes of the North were environed by *Algonquins*. The immediate dominion of the *Iroquois* were the *Mohawks*, *Oneidas*, *Onondagas*, *Cayugas*, and *Senecas*. Their geographical position made them umpires in the contest of the French for dominion in the West. Not only did they claim supremacy over Northern New England as far as the *Kennebeck*, but as far as Connecticut. They were first visited by the Jesuits, or the war parties of the French, stretched from Lake *Champlain* to *Ontario*, along the head-waters of the *Ohio*, *Susquehannah*, and *Delaware*. Their destruction has been almost exclusively the result of wars among themselves, or against other Indian nations.

drawn up on the 17th October, 1666, by Sieur DUBOIS, for M. TALON, the King's Intendant, by Acts passed before DUGUET, notary, who had, for this purpose, accompanied the army.

And what adds great weight to all this is, that, besides the taking possession of the *Mohawk* country by said Sieur DE TRACY, with an armed force, in the fall of the year 1666, the Deputies of the other four *Iroquois* nations came to said M. DE TRACY in 1667, and in due form, by an Act signed on the one part and the other, by the *Iroquois* after their fashion, and by us after ours, did give themselves to the French, and placed their country under the King's dominion. The originals have been approved and carried to France at the request of M. TALON, the then Intendant.

Since that time, our Frenchmen have always carried on trade with the *Iroquois*; M. COURCELLES having gone up with a number of French to Lake *Ontario*, to the place named *Katarakui*, where the said *Iroquois* being, they were [he was] received by the latter as their Father; and in the year 1673, Count DE FRONTENAC having gone to *Katarakui*, likewise accompanied by a number of Frenchmen, had a Royal fort to be erected there, where the King has always kept a garrison and a Governor, whom Sieur DE FRONTENAC caused to build at the said *Katarakui* divers barks, which have always navigated and traded with the *Senccas* and other *Iroquois* as far as *Niagara*, where Sieur DE LA SALLE (as is proved by two writings drawn up by Sieur DE LA SALLE for the benefit of MOYSE HILSER, dated at Fort

Crevœur the 1st and 2d March, 1680, which affords evidence of said Sieur DE LA SALLE's residence and trade at *Niagara* in 1676) had built in 1676 a store, a forge, and other buildings for the greater accommodation of the trade with the said *Senecas* and other *Iroquois*, who used to come to us in the French settlements at *Katarakui* and *Niagara* (see the Procès Verbal of the new entry into possession of said peace of *Niagara* by the Marquis DE DENONVILLE, last July, 1687, on the return march of the army commanded by him against the *Senecas*), and our Frenchmen have always had peaceable possession of the *Iroquois* country, going and coming to their villages, and many residing with the missionaries there, until, the war with the *Iroquois* having broke out, the Frenchmen, missionaries, and others were obliged to withdraw, whereupon Colonel DONGAN, Governor of New York, took occasion, in 1684, to send to the *Iroquois* village to set up the arms of the King of England therein and to take possession thereof, offering them powder and other munitions of war to induce them to admit the necessity that existed of giving themselves to him. But this entry into possession being illegitimate and posterior, by so many years, to that of the French, cannot convey any right to the English over those lands, which already belong to the French by so many anterior titles, as has been previously remarked, and by so many lawful and incontestable rights.

For, as regards Colonel DONGAN's assertions, that the country of the *Iroquois* belongs to his government because, according to him, it is south of his jurisdiction, we answer

in the first place, that it is not south, but in fact west-north-west of Manatte, New York.

Secondly, though it were south, that cannot derogate from the rights of the French who had taken possession of it even before the Dutch or the English had set foot at Manatte, and who, since they are there, never opposed it, until within three or four years, which cannot confer any right on them.

To come now to the possessions and establishments (these will be proved by the acts which M. TALON has in Paris) which have been acquired in ascending the *St. Lawrence*, since the post of *Niagara*, Sieur DE LA SALLE with thirty Frenchmen, of which number was M. TONTY, Priest Superior of the Seminary of Montreal, made the tour of Lake *Erie* and took possession of the circumjacent lands, after Sieur JOLIET, with Father MARQUETTE, Jesuit, had long before done the same thing, in order to renew the entry into possession of Sieur DE CHAMPLAIN in 1612.

And after that, in 1676 (proved by a writing of said Sieur DE LA SALLE for the benefit of MOYSE HILLERS, in March, 1680, by the procès verbal of the M. DE DENONVILLE of last July, 1687, and by the inquisition of the said Lieutenant-General of Quebec), said Sieur DE LA SALLE caused a ship and a large house to be built above the Falls of *Niagara*, within three or four leagues of Lake *Erie*, where are still visible the stocks whereon was built the said vessel, which having been completed in 1677, about the feast of St. John the Baptist, was conducted, freighted with merchandise, into the said Lake *Erie*, and thence passed through the *Detroit*,

where Fort *St. Joseph* or *du Luth* is built and where *Sieur DE LA DURANTAYE* renewed the entry into possession of the neighboring countries, north and south, navigated Lake *Huron* as far as *Missilimakinak* and thence through that of the *Illinois* or *Missagans* beyond the *Huron islands*, which said bark was constructed for the greater convenience of trading with the French who inhabited the said place of *Missilimakinak* for more than forty years; *some French established at the Bay des Puans, with those at Fort St. Louis established by said Sieur DE LA SALLE, who had discovered the great river of Mississippi, and descended it as far as the South Sea.* For the continuation of which trade, he caused a fort and buildings to be erected and a bark to be begun at a place called *Crevecœur*, in order to proceed as far as the said South Sea, two-thirds of which bark only were built, the said *Sieur DE LA SALLE* having afterwards employed canoes for his trade in said countries, as he had already done for several years in the rivers *Ohio*, *Wabache*, and others in the surrounding neighborhood which flow into the said river *Mississippi*, whereof possession was taken by him in the King's name, as appears by the relations made thereof. The countries and rivers of *Ohio* or *Wabache* and circumjacent territory were inhabited by our Indians, the *Chauanons*, *Miamis*, and *Illinois*.

It is to be remarked that, as early as the year 1633, a good many Frenchmen having gone up to the *Hurons* with the Jesuit fathers and missionaries, settled there; and ten years afterwards, the king sent thirty soldiers thither, who

remained there until the destruction of all the *Hurons* by the *Iroquois* obliged the French to retire for a time ; but they returned thither shortly afterwards in a much more considerable number, and spread themselves throughout those vast countries. (It is proved by an *arrêt* of the Council of State of the 5th of March, 1648, that his Majesty had authorized the sending to the *Huron* country a company of thirty men, commanded by a captain, for the purpose of escorting the *Hurons* and other Indian tribes, and to accompany the missionaries, who were no longer able to continue their missions without aid.)

Thirdly, what is more authentic in this matter is, the entry into possession of all those countries made by M. TALON, Intendant of New France, who in 1671 sent Sieur DE ST. LUSSON, his subdelegate, into the country of the *Otauas*, who invited the deputies of all the tribes within a circumference of more than a hundred leagues to meet at *St. Mary of the Sault*. On the 4th of June of the same year, fourteen tribes, by their ambassadors, repaired thither, and in their presence, and that of a number of Frenchmen, the Sieur DE ST. LUSSON erected there a post to which he affixed the King's arms, and declared to all those people that he had convoked them in order to receive them into the King's protection, and in his name to take possession of all their lands, so that henceforth ours and theirs should be but one ; which all those tribes very readily accepted.

The commission of said subdelegate contained these very words, viz. : That he was sent to take possession of the

countries lying between the east and west, from *Montreal* to the *South Sea*, as much and as far as was in his power. This entry into possession was made with all those formalities, as is to be seen in the relation of 1671, and more expressly in the record of the entry into possession, drawn up by the said subdelegate.

The next year, 1672, the river *Mississippi*, and, at the same time, the *Illinois*, *Chauanons*, and other tribes unknown to Europeans, were discovered by *Sieur JOLIET* * and the

* *Sieur LOUIS JOLIET*, whose name is now imperishably connected with the discovery of the *Mississippi* river and the exploration of the West, was born at *Quebec*, in the year 1645. After completing his studies at the Jesuit College of that city, he embraced the ecclesiastical profession, received minor orders in 1662, and finished his philosophy in 1666. He afterwards turned his attention to other pursuits, and set out for the Indian country of the West. In 1672 he was selected by Governor Count DE FRONTENAC to proceed in search of the great river which was reported by the Indians to Father ALLOUEZ, who was the first Jesuit missionary who reached its waters. Father MARQUETTE, who was selected to accompany JOLIET, says that "he was eminently qualified for such an important undertaking. He possessed wisdom, discretion, courage, experience, and a knowledge of the Algonquin languages." The success of this expedition is fully set forth in the first, second, third, and fourth volumes of the *first series* of the Historical Collections of Louisiana, and forms an interesting episode in the history of that State. On his return from this exploration to Canada, in 1672, he had the misfortune to lose his journal in descending the rapids of the *St. Lawrence*. He drew up, however, from memory, a narrative with a map, which was transmitted to the court of France by Count DE FRONTENAC in 1674. Father DABLON, the Superior-General of the Canada Missions, in the description of the map published by him in the *Relations*, 1670-1, pp. 89-91, alludes to the existence of the *Mississippi*: "that it flowed south, and probably had its mouth in the *Florida Sea*" (*Gulf of Mexico*). But JOLIET, in one of his expeditions to the West, had nearly reached it. "And the long-expected discovery was now to be accomplished by JOLIET, of whom there is scarce a record; but this one excur-

Jesuit Father MARQUETTE, who went as far as the thirty-second degree, and set up the King's arms, taking possession in his name of all those recently discovered nations.*

sion gives him immortality, and by MARQUETTE, who, after years of pious assiduity to his missionary labors among the *Hurons*, entered with the same zeal and humility upon a career which exposed his life to perpetual danger, and by its results affected the destiny of nations." MARQUETTE's journal and map did not, however, reach the French government until 1675, when the King and Court allowed the whole discovery to lie over; and had not THEVENOT obtained a copy of the narrative and map, which he published in 1681, a translation of which is to be found in the second volume of the Historical Collections of Louisiana, vol. 2, pp. 280-97, "France would have derived no benefit," says SHEA, "from this discovery, and but for the enterprise and persevering courage of Cavalier DE LA SALLE, who now looked for some new field, and having read the Spanish accounts of this great river, described by the historians of DE SOTO's expedition, he repaired to France in 1677, and by the help of Governor FRONTENAC's recommendation he obtained a patent for his discovery. The plan traced by JOLIET in FRONTENAC's despatch of 1674, seems to have been followed by him." He accordingly set out on his voyage down the *Mississippi*, and reached its mouth in 1682, and took possession of all the country in the name of LOUIS XIV., and named it Louisiana. In 1680 JOLIET was appointed hydrographer to the King, and as a reward for having discovered the country of the *Illinois*, and for the exploration of the *Colbert (Mississippi)* river, and for a voyage made to *Hudson's Bay*, in the public interests, he obtained a grant of the island of Anticosti, in the *Gulf of St. Lawrence*, which, on account of the fisheries and the Indian trade, was, at the time, one of the most profitable seigniories in Canada. On the 30th April, 1697, he obtained a grant of the seignior of JOLIET, on the river *Etchemins*, south of *Quebec*, which is still in the possession of some of his descendants. He afterwards died about the year 1702, leaving a widow and four children. *Notes sur les Régistres de Notre Dame de Quebec. La Hontan*, 1728, vol. 1, p. 336.

*EXTRACT from a letter written by Count DE FRONTENAC to M. COLBERT, dated *Quebec*, Nov. 14, 1674.

"Sieur JOLIET, whom M. TALON advised me on my arrival from France to detach for the discovery of the *South Sea*, has returned three months ago, and discovered some new countries, and a navigation so easy through the beautiful

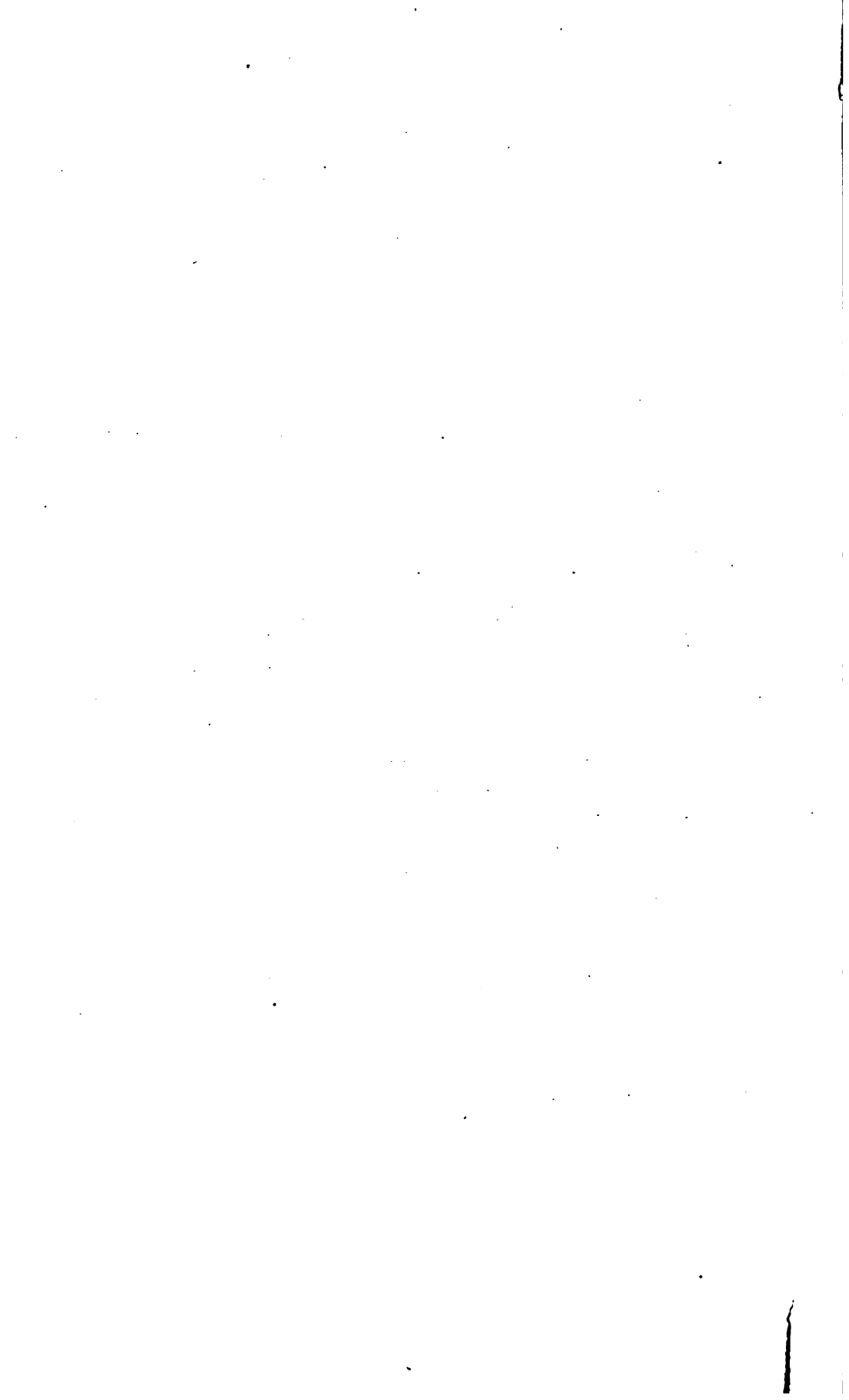
And some years after, Sieur DE LA SALLE extended the same discovery farther, even unto the sea, taking everywhere possession by the King's arms, which he erected there.

All the foregoing demonstrates sufficiently the incontestable right the French have to the *Iroquois* lands, to those of the *Otawas*, and all the other tribes inhabiting the countries aforementioned, and others whereof possession has also been taken in His Majesty's name, along the river *St. Lawrence*, the lakes it forms, and the rivers discharging therein, which constitute the continuation of the waters of said river *St. Lawrence* (the river *St. Lawrence* is proved by the concession of M. DE LAUZON, of the 15th of May, 1656, to Sieur DUPUY, already mentioned) from the gulf, always following the same point of the compass, and extends beyond Lake *Superior*, proceeding from the Lake *des Alépini-gons*, without any interruption of the navigation, our barks

rivers he has found that a person can go from Lake *Ontario* and Fort *Frontenac* in a bark canoe to the *Gulf of Mexico*, there being only one carrying place, half a league in length, where Lake *Ontario* communicates with Lake *Erie*. He has been within ten days of the *Gulf of Mexico*, and believes that water communication could be found leading to the *Vermillion* and *California* seas (called by the Spaniards *Mar de Cortes*) by means of the river that flows from the west into the great river (*Mississippi*) that he discovered, which runs from north to south, and is as large as the *St. Lawrence*, opposite *Quebec*. I send you, by my secretary, the map he has made of it, and the observations that he has been able to recollect, as he has lost all his minutes and journals in the shipwreck he met with, within sight of *Montreal*, where, after having completed a voyage of fifteen hundred leagues, he was near being drowned, and lost all his papers, and a young Indian whom he brought from those countries. He left with the fathers of the *Sault St. Marie* (*Lake Superior*) copies of his journals; these we cannot get before next year."

having always sailed from lake to lake along said river, the one making their voyage from the place called *la Galette*. to *Niagara* on Lake *Ontario* or *Frontenac*, and the others from above the falls of *Niagara* unto the head of Lake *Missigamé*, or *Illinois*, passing through that of *Erie*, then following said river *St. Lawrence*, by the *Detroit* and Fort *St. Joseph*, or *du Luth*, and thence into Lake *Huron* or the *Fresh Sea*, which communicates (*répand*) with the said lake of the *Illinois* as well as the said Lakes *Superior* and *des Alépinigons*, where the French actually are trading and have divers establishments; and it demonstrates their possession of the great river *Mississippi*, which they have discovered as far as the *South Sea*, on which river also they have divers establishments, as well as on that of *Ohio*, *Ouabache*, etc., which flow into the said river *Mississippi*, and of the countries and lands in the vicinity of said rivers, where they actually carry on trade, which countries are easily recognized on the general map of *North America*.

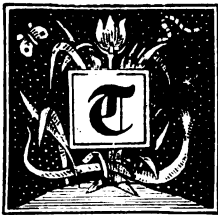
HISTORICAL COLLECTIONS
RELATING TO THE
FIRST DISCOVERY AND SETTLEMENT
OF
FLORIDA,
WITH HISTORICAL AND BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES.



Introduction

TO THE

COLONIAL HISTORY OF FLORIDA.



THE following interesting and graphic letter from COLUMBUS* to his friend Don LUIS DE SANTANGEL, the Escribano de Racion of the Catholic sovereigns in 1493, is inserted here, to show that from his own admission, if he had, in attempting to discover a passage to Eastern India, by the west—a short road to the gums and

* DON CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS

To his friend, DON LUIS DE SANTANGEL, on his arrival from his first voyage.

AT THE AZORES, Feb. 15, 1493.

SIR,—As I am sure you will be pleased at the great victory which the Lord has given me in my voyage, I write this to inform you that in twenty days I arrived in the Indies with the squadron which their Majesties had placed under my command. There I discovered many islands, inhabited by a numerous population, and took possession of them for their Highnesses, with public ceremony and the royal flag displayed, without molestation.

The first that I discovered I named *San Salvador*, in remembrance of that Almighty Power which had so miraculously bestowed them. The Indians call it *Guanahani*. To the second I assigned the name of *Santa Maria de Concepcion*.

spices, the gold and gems, of imaginary regions--continued his voyage directly west, instead of turning to the south-west, he would have been the first European navigator to reach the continent of North America, and the coast of Florida.

The discovery of the Antilles was soon after, however,

To the third, that of *Fernandina*. To the fourth, that of *Isabela*. To the fifth, *Juana*; and so on--to every one a new name.

When I arrived at *Juana*, I followed the coast to the westward, and found it so extensive that I considered it must be a continent, and a province of *Cathay*. And as I found no towns or villages by the sea-side, excepting some small settlements, with the people of which I could not communicate because they all ran away, I continued my course to the westward, thinking I should not fail to find some large towns and cities. After having coasted many leagues without finding any signs of them, and seeing that the coast took me to the northward, where I did not wish to go, as the winter was already set in, I considered it best to follow the coast to the south; and, the wind being also scant, I determined to lose no more time, and therefore returned to a certain port; from whence I sent two messengers into the country to ascertain whether there was any king there or any large city.

They traveled for three days, finding an infinite number of small settlements and an innumerable population, but nothing like a city; on which account they returned. I had tolerably well ascertained from some Indians whom I had taken that this land was only an island, so I followed the coast of it to the east for 107 leagues, to its termination. And about eighteen leagues from this cape, to the east, there was another island, to which I shortly gave the name of *Española*. I went to it, and followed the north coast of it, as I had done that of *Juana*, for 178 long leagues due east.

This island is very fertile, as well, indeed, as all the rest. It possesses numerous harbors, far superior to any I know in Europe, and, what is remarkable, plenty of large inlets. The land is high, and contains many lofty ridges and some very high mountains, without comparison of the island of *Cetrefrey*; all of them very handsome, and of different forms; all of them accessible, and abounding in trees of a thousand kinds, high, and appearing as if they would reach the skies. And I am assured that the latter never lose their foliage, as far as I can understand,

followed by that of Florida, by PONCE DE LEON; and although the real wealth and importance of the New World, first discovered by COLUMBUS, could not be magnified beyond their value, they were soon overlooked, and ambition and cupidity pointed to other regions of more abounding riches and higher civilization, overflowing with all that

for I saw them as fresh and flourishing as those of Spain in the month of May. Some were in blossom, some bearing fruit, and others in other states according to their nature.

The nightingale and a thousand kinds of birds enlivened the woods with their song, in the month of November, wherever I went. There are seven or eight kinds of palms, of various elegant forms, besides various other trees, fruits, and herbs. The pines of this island are magnificent. It has also extensive plains, honey, and a great variety of birds and fruits. It has many metal mines, and a population innumerable.

Española is a wonderful island, with mountains, groves, plains, and the country generally beautiful and rich for planting and sowing, for rearing sheep and cattle of all kinds, and ready for towns and cities. The harbors must be seen to be appreciated; rivers are plentiful and large, and of excellent water; the greater part of them contain gold. There is a great difference between the trees, fruits, and herbs of this island and those of *Juana*. In this island there are many spices, and large mines of gold and other metals.

The people of this island and of all the others which I have discovered or heard of, both men and women, go naked as they were born, although some of the women wear leaves of herbs, or a cotton covering made on purpose. They have no iron nor steel, nor any weapons, not that they are not a well-disposed people and of a fine stature, but they are timid to a degree. They have no other arms excepting spears made of cane, to which they fix, at the end, a sharp piece of wood, and then dare not use even these. Frequently I had occasion to send two or three of my men on shore to some settlement for information where there would be multitudes of them; and as soon as they saw our people they would run away every soul, the father leaving his child; and this was not because any one had done them harm, for rather at every cape where I landed and been able to communicate with them, I have made them presents of cloth and many other things without receiving anything in return; but because they

the sordid covet or the ambitious desire. The discoveries of the Portuguese had extended to the regions where the harvest of the European adventurer was prepared before he visited the field. This inflamed the avidity of the Spaniards; and the land discovered by COLUMBUS, after a time, came to be regarded as almost an impediment to the progress of

are so timid. Certainly, where they have confidence and forget their fears, they are so open-hearted and liberal with all they possess, that it is scarcely to be believed without seeing it. If anything that they have is asked of them they never deny it; on the contrary, they will offer it. Their generosity is so great that they would give anything, whether it is costly or not, for anything of any kind that is offered them, and be contented with it. I was obliged to prevent such worthless things being given them as pieces of broken basins, broken glass, and bits of shoe-latchets; although when they obtained them they esteemed them as if they had been the greatest of treasures. One of the seamen for a latchet received a piece of gold weighing two dollars and a half, and others, for other things of much less value, obtained more. Again, for new silver coin they would give everything they possessed, whether it was worth two or three doubloons or one of two balls of cotton. Even for pieces of broken pipe-tubes they would take them and give anything for them, until, when I thought it wrong, I prevented it. And I made them presents of thousands of things which I had, that I might win their esteem, and also that they might be made good Christians and be disposed to the service of your Majesties and the whole Spanish nation, and help us to obtain the things which we require and of which there is abundance in their country.

And these people appear to have neither religion nor idolatry, except that they believe that good and evil come from the skies; and they firmly believed that our ships and their crews, with myself, came from the skies, and with this persuasion, after having lost their fears, they always received us. And yet this does not proceed from ignorance, for they are very ingenious, and some of them navigate their seas in a wonderful manner, and give good accounts of things, but because they never saw people dressed or ships like ours.

And as soon as I arrived in the Indies, at the first island at which I touched, I captured some of them, that we might learn from them and obtain intelligence of what there was in those parts. And as soon as we understood each other

adventure which might be crowned with like rewards. CORTEZ had not yet conquered Mexico; Peru and New Spain were still unknown; and though the few strange animals, and beautiful birds, and the rich vegetable productions brought home as the first fruits of his discovery in a savage and unsettled country were admired as specimens

they were of great service to us; but yet, from frequent conversation which I have had with them, they still believe we came from the skies. These were the first to express that idea, and others ran from house to house, and in the neighboring villages, crying out, "Come and see the people from the skies." And thus all of them, men and women, after having satisfied themselves of their safety, came to us without reserve, great and small, bringing us something to eat and drink, and which they gave to us most affectionately.

They have many canoes in those islands propelled by oars; some of them large and others small, and many of them with eight or ten paddles of a side, not very wide, but all of one trunk, and a boat cannot keep way with them by oars, for they are incredibly fast; and with these they navigate all the islands, which are innumerable, and obtain their articles of traffic. I have seen some of these canoes with sixty or eighty men in them, and each with a paddle.

Among the islands I did not find much diversity of formation in the people, nor in their customs, nor their language. They all understand each other, which is remarkable: and I trust your Highnesses will determine on their being converted to our faith, for which they are very well disposed.

I have already said that I went one hundred and seven leagues along the coast of *Juana*, from east to west. Thus, according to my track, it is larger than England and Scotland together, for, besides these one hundred and seven leagues, there were, further west, two provinces to which I did not go, one of which is called *Cibau*, the people of which are born with tails; which provinces must be about fifty or sixty leagues long, according to what I can make out from the Indians I have with me, who know all the islands. The other island (*Española*) is larger in circuit than the whole of Spain from the Straits of *Gibraltar* (the *Columns*) to *Fuentarabia* in *Biscay*, as I sailed one hundred and thirty-eight long leagues in a direct line from west to east. Once known, it must be desired, and once seen, one desires never to leave it; and which, being taken possession of for their Highnesses, and the people being at present in a condition lower

and symbols, these were not the wealth which the Old World valued, nor were the lands which produced them the regions which were to realize the romantic dreams of an immediate and overflowing acquisition of the most rare and precious commodities of the East. COLUMBUS had at first mistaken the islands he discovered for those of Eastern

than I can possibly describe, the Sovereigns of Castile may dispose of it in any manner they please. In the most convenient places in this *Española*, and the best district, there are gold mines, and, on the other hand, from thence to *terra firma*, as well as from thence to the *Great Khan*, where everything is on a splendid scale. I have taken possession of a large town, to which I gave the name of *La Navidaa*, and have built a fort in it in every respect complete. And I left sufficient people in it to take care of it, with artillery, and provisions for more than a year, also a boat and coxswain, with the equipments; in complete friendship with the King of the island,—to that degree that he delighted to call me and look on me as his brother. And should they fall out with these people, neither he nor his subjects know anything of weapons and go naked, as I have said, and they are the most timorous people in the world. The few people left there are sufficient to conquer the country, and the island would thus remain without danger to them, they keeping order among themselves.

In all these islands it appeared to me the men are contented with one wife, but to their Governor or King they allow twenty. The women seem to work more than the men. I have not been able to discover whether they respect personal property, for it appeared to me that things were common to all, especially in the particular of provisions. Hitherto I have not seen in any of these islands any monsters, as there were supposed to be; the people, on the contrary, are generally well formed, nor are they black like those of *Guinea*, saving their hair, and they do not reside in places exposed to the sun's rays. It is true that the sun is most powerful there, as it is only 26° from the equator. In this last winter those islands which were mountainous were cold, but they are accustomed to it, with good food and plenty of spices and hot nutriment. Thus I have found no monsters nor heard of any, except at an island which is the second in going to the Indies, and which is inhabited by a people who are considered in all the islands as ferocious, and who devour human flesh. These people have many canoes, which scour all the islands of India and plunder all they can. They are

India. Cuba he fancied a part of Asia; but, once convinced of his mistake, by the discovery of the continent of America, and by further research, his bold genius and instinctive sagacity suggested the necessity of a sea farther west, washing the opposite side of the new continent; and, as previously shown, the northern shores of the new conti-

not worse formed than others, but they wear the hair long like women, and use bows and arrows of the same kind of cane pointed with a piece of hard wood instead of iron, of which they have none. They are fierce compared with the other people, who are in general but sad cowards; but I do not consider them in any other way superior to them. These are they who trade in women, who inhabit the first island met with in going from Spain to the Indies, in which there are no men whatever. They have no effeminate exercise, but bows and arrows, as before said, of cane, with which they arm themselves, and use shields of copper, of which they have plenty.

There is another island, I am told, larger than *Española*, the natives of which have no hair. In this there is gold without limit, and of this and the others I have Indians with me to witness.

In conclusion, referring only to what has been effected this voyage, which was made with so much haste, your Highnesses may see that I shall find as much gold as desired with the very little assistance afforded to me: there is as much spice and cotton as can be wished for, and also gum, which hitherto has only been found in *Greece*, in the island of *Chios*, and they may sell it as they please, and the mastich, as much as may be desired, and slaves, also, who will be idolaters. And I believe that I have found rhubarb and cinnamon, and a thousand other things I shall find, which will have been discovered by those whom I have left behind, for I did not stop at any cape when the wind enabled me to navigate except at the town of *Navidad*, where I was very safe and well taken care of. And in truth much more I should have done if the ships had served me as might have been expected. This is certain, that the Eternal God our Lord gives all things to those who obey him, and the victory when it seems impossible, and this evidently is an instance of it, for although people have talked of these lands, all was conjecture unless proved by seeing them, for the greater part listened and judged more by hearsay than by anything else.

Since, then, our Redeemer has given this victory to our illustrious King and

nent were reached and explored by English, French, Portuguese, and Spanish navigators; and while in search of one of the wonders of the New World, the fabled fountain of youth, in the Lucayan group of isles, opposite the great western continent, JUAN PONCE DE LEON, an officer in the second voyage made by COLUMBUS, discovered the coast of Florida, and it was now clear to the mind of COLUMBUS that an ocean washed the western shores of the new continent, and the east coast of China, and the discovery made by NUNEZ DE BALBOA, in 1513, was the confirmation of his theory. The shores of the new continent were soon after explored from the Gulf of *St. Lawrence* to the *Rio de la Plata*, to discover the strait which must form the channel of communication with the East.

The search for this passage to the oriental islands was the last labor in which COLUMBUS engaged—his final and most disastrous voyage was undertaken for this especial object. But the legacy of discovery was bequeathed to spirits cast in similar mould with his own. From the mount he had obtained a view of the Promised Land, but was denied the felicity of reaching it, or tasting its fruits.

Queen (FERDINAND and ISABELLA), and celebrated their reigns by such a great thing, all Christendom should rejoice and make great festivals, and give solemn thanks to the Blessed Trinity, with solemn praises for the exaltation of so much people to our holy faith; and next for the temporal blessings which not only Spain, but they, will enjoy in becoming Christians, and which last may shortly be accomplished.

Proclamation

OF

PAMFILO DE NARVAEZ.

TO THE INHABITANTS OF THE COUNTRIES AND PROVINCES
FROM RIO DE PALMAS TO THE CAPE OF FLORIDA, 1527.

TRANSLATED FROM A COPY OF THE ORIGINAL IN THE ARCHIVES OF THE INDIES,
SEVILLE, SPAIN.



N behalf of the Catholic Cæsarean Majesty
of DON CARLOS, King of the Romans,
and Emperor ever Augustus, and
Doña JUANA, his mother, sovereigns of
Leon and Castilla, defenders of the
church, ever victors, never vanquished,
and rulers of barbarous nations, I, PAMFILO DE NARVAEZ,
his servant, messenger, and captain, notify and cause ye to
know, in the best manner I can, that God, our Lord, one
and eternal, created the heaven and the earth, and one man
and one woman, of whom we and you and all men in the
world have come, are descendants and the generation, as
well will those be who shall come after us ; but because of
the infinity of offspring that followed in the five thousand.

years, and more since the world was created, it has become necessary that some men should go in one direction, and others in another, dividing into many kingdoms and provinces, since in a single one they could not be sustained or kept.

All these nations God, our Lord, gave in charge to one person called St. PETER, that he might be master and superior over mankind, to be obeyed and be head of all the human race, wheresoever they might live, and be of whatever law, sect, or belief, giving him the whole world for his kingdom, lordship, and jurisdiction.

And he commanded him to place his seat in Rome, as a point most suited whence to rule the world ; so he likewise permitted him to have and place his seat on any part of the earth to judge and govern all people, Christians, Moors, Jews, Gentiles, and of whatever creed beside they might be. Him they call Papa, which means admirable, greatest father and preserver, since he is father and governor of all men.

This Saint PETER was obeyed and taken for King, Lord, and Superior of the universe by those who lived at that time, and so likewise have all the rest been held who to the Pontificate were afterwards elected ; and thus has it continued until now, and will continue to the end of all things.

One of the popes who succeeded him to that seat of dignity of which I spake, as Lord of the world, made a gift of these islands and main of the ocean sea to the said Emperor and Queen, and their successors, our Lords in these kingdoms, with all that is in them, as is contained in certain

writings that thereupon took place, which may be seen if you desire. Thus are their Highnesses King and Queen of these islands and continent, and nearly all where they have been proclaimed have received their majesties, obeyed and served, and do serve them, as subjects should, with good will and no resistance, and immediately without delay, directly as they were informed, obeying the religious men whom their Highnesses sent to preach to them, and teach our holy faith of their entire free will and pleasure, without reward or condition whatsoever, becoming Christians, which they are; and their Highnesses received them joyfully and benignly, ordering them to be treated as their subjects and vassals were, and you are held and obliged to act as likewise. Wherefore, as best as you can, I entreat and require you to understand this well which I have told you, taking the time for it that is just you should, to comprehend and reflect, and that you recognize the church as mistress and superior of the universe, and the high pontiff, called Papa, in its name, the King and Queen our masters, in their place as Lords Superiors and Sovereigns of these islands and the main, by virtue of said gift, and you consent and give opportunity that these fathers and religious men declare and preach to you as stated. If you shall do so, you will do well in what you are held and obliged; and their Majesties, and I, in their royal name, will receive you with love and charity, relinquishing in freedom your women, children, and estates, without service, that with them and yourselves you may do with perfect liberty all you wish and may deem well; you

shall not be required to become Christians except, when informed of the truth, you desire to be converted to our Holy Catholic faith, as nearly all the inhabitants of the other islands have done, and when his Highness will confer on you numerous privileges and instruction, with many favors.

If you do not this, and of malice you are dilatory, I protest to you, that, with the help of our Lord, I will enter with force, making war upon you from all directions and in every manner that I may be able, when I will subject you to obedience to the church and the yoke of their Majesties; and I will take the persons of yourselves, your wives, and your children to make slaves,* sell and dispose of you, as their

* From the first discovery of the continent of America, the Spaniards commenced to carry off the natives to sell for slaves in the West India Islands. PONCE DE LEON, LUCAS VASQUEZ DE AYLLON, and PAMPHILO DE NARVAEZ, as well as others, continued this traffic for several centuries.

BARTHOLOMEW DE LAS CASAS, Bishop of *Chiapa*, in a curious memoir entitled "La Brevisima Relacion de la Destruccion de las Indias," which, by order of the Emperor CHARLES V., he transmitted in 1543 to the assembly of the prelates collected at *Valladolid*, Spain, to reform abuses in the New World and the West Indies, informs us that "Three merciless tyrants at different times invaded the provinces of Florida (referring to the above expeditions), all animated with the same spirit, and moved by the same designs. They all committed the same outrages throughout Florida. But God was pleased to punish them after a very signal manner, for they all came to a miserable end.

"These brutes would doubtless have committed yet more villainies, had not the just judgment of the Almighty shortened their days.

"When they came into Florida they found it plentifully stored with people who were wise and well disciplined both in civil affairs and in morals. They began to cast a terror through the country by I know not how many massacres; so that the poor Indians, who had never known any thing like it, were put into a great consternation.

"The Spaniards used them as beasts of burden to carry their arms, utensils,

Majesties shall think fit ; and I will take your goods, doing you all the evil and injury that I may be able ; as to vassals who do not obey, but reject their master, resist and deny

and provisions. They put men and women, masters and servants, all to the sword without any respect to age, sex, or quality. They cut off their lips and noses, and sent them away in this condition to terrify the rest of the country. These cruelties hindered the success of the missions of our apostolic men in this country, who had no good reasons to produce to these poor wretches to excuse such barbarities as these. One may guess by these cruelties what love the Indians must have for the Catholics, and what confidence they can put in their promises. What idea they can have of God when he is described to them as infinitely good and merciful ? What can they think of His law, which they are told is so holy and just, when they see those who profess to observe it do not scruple to commit all kinds of crime ?

“ The Spaniards took away over a million of men from the coasts of these provinces and transported them into the islands of St. John and Hispaniola, where they perished in the mines, or by other hardships were made to suffer. It would produce compassion in the hardest hearts to see these coasts that were once so full of people now absolutely deserts.

“ As for the continent, it is of what I know certain that the Spaniards have ruined ten kingdoms there larger than all Spain by the commission of all sorts of barbarity and unheard-of cruelties. They have driven away or killed all the inhabitants, so that all these kingdoms are desolate to this day, and reduced to a most deplorable condition. We dare assert, without fear of contradiction, that in the space of these forty years in which the Spaniards exercised their intolerable cruelty in this new world, they unjustly put to death many millions of people, counting men, women, and children.

“ The gold and silver these people had in their possession was the motive that violently prompted the Europeans to persecute and destroy them. In a word, their avarice and ambition were arrived to an excess beyond imagination. The immense riches of the New World, the tractable, sweet, and good disposition of the Indians, which rendered a descent into their country easy to attempt, have occasioned all the ravage and spoil, all the horrid massacres and cruelties, which the Spaniards have caused them to suffer. They had so little regard for the salvation of their souls, that they would not trouble themselves so much as to speak of the Christian faith and sacrament to those numberless multitudes of men,

him; and I declare to you that the deaths and damages that arise therefrom will be your fault, and not that of his Majesty, nor mine, nor of these cavaliers who come with me.

women, and children, whom they sacrificed to their ambition and tyranny, until, wearied out with repeated cruelties and massacres, they were compelled to arm themselves and repel force by force."

Narrative

OF THE

FIRST VOYAGE OF JEAN DE RIBAUT, MADE IN THE REIGN OF CHARLES IX., KING OF FRANCE, UNDER THE ORDERS AND INSTRUCTIONS OF GASPARD DE COLIGNY,* GRAND ADMIRAL OF FRANCE, TO MAKE DISCOVERIES AND FOUND A COLONY OF FRENCH PROTESTANTS (HUGUENOTS) IN FLORIDA, A. D. 1562.

CHAPTER I.



HEREAS, in the year of our Lord 1562, it pleased God to move your Lordship to choose and appoint me to discover and view a certain long coast of the West Indies from the head of the land called Florida, drawing toward the north

* GASPARD DE COLIGNY, Grand Admiral of France, Seigneur de Chatillon, was born at *Chatillon-sur-Loing*, February 16, 1516. He was distinguished for his learning and accomplishments, and at the age of twenty-five was Major-General of the French infantry, and afterwards created Grand Admiral of France. After the death of HENRY II., he espoused the cause of the French Protestants (Huguenots) against the Guises, who represented the Roman Catholics of France, and during the religious wars which drenched that country in blood, he distinguished himself as an able commander in several important battles. His sense of religious obligation was deep and fervent; and with him the maintenance of the reformed religion was not to cover a factious ambition, but was an object of the most serious importance, justified by his convictions:

part unto the head of Bretons,* distant from the said head of Florida † nine hundred leagues, or thereabout, to the end

to which he sacrificed the best years of his life, and finally life itself, in the Massacre of St. BARTHOLOMEW, 1572, in laboring to bring about peace. He was, in truth, always devoted to the great cause of human improvement, in all its forms, laboring during a long life for the advancement of truth, and maintenance of justice and order. He was, perhaps, one of the wisest statesmen that France ever produced. In 1555, he projected the enterprise to found a French Protestant colony in Brazil, hoping to find the double advantage of opening a place of refuge for the persecuted Protestants, not only of France, but all Europe, and enriching his own country from a colonial establishment. But after fitting out two expeditions, and founding the first European colony in Brazil, the whole scheme came to an end by divisions and disagreements among the colonists, and was finally subverted by the Portuguese, who, in 1560, sent out an armed expedition against it, and took possession of the colonial establishment in the bay of *Rio Janeiro*. This attempt to found a French colony in Brazil is particularly interesting, by the fact that ANDRE THEVET, a celebrated French traveler and cosmographer, who accompanied the expedition, was afterwards induced to visit the entire coast, both of North and South America, and particularly described the eastern coast of Florida, as high up as *St. Helena Sound*, in 32° north latitude. COLIGNY may be styled the Sir WALTER RALEIGH of France; for, after the failure to found a colony in Brazil, he turned his attention to the eastern shores of North America, the whole of which had become known to France, — from DENYS, 1506, to VERRAZZANO, in 1534, and subsequent explorers, CARTIER, ROBERVAL, DU MONTS, and especially the Spanish expeditions. He accordingly planned and fitted out the expedition of JEAN DE RIBAUT, in 1562, to found a colony of French Protestants (Huguenots) in the reign of CHARLES IX., and who, after founding a colony, returned to France, and wrote the above account of his expedition and description of the country, which was followed by two other expeditions under himself and M. RÉNÉ GOULAINÉ DE LAUDONIERE. (*See First Series of the Historical Collections of Louisiana and Florida*, pp. 177-362.)

* The name of Cape *Breton*, in north latitude 46°, is a memorial of the early French navigators. CARTIER, in 1534, found the capes and bays of Newfoundland already named by his countrymen.

† At the period when RIBAUT wrote this narrative of "the true and last discoverie of Florida," and for a century or more after, the Spaniards applied

we might certify and make you a true report of the climate, fertility, ports, havens, rivers, and generally of all the commodities that we have seen and found in that land, and also to learn what people were dwelling there, which thing you have long time ago desired, being stirred thereunto by this zeal: That France might one day, through new discoveries, have knowledge of strange countries, and also thereof to receive by traffic rich and inestimable commodities, as other nations have done by taking in hand such far voyages, both to the honor and prowess of their kings and princes, and also to the increase of profit and use to their countries and dominions, which is most of all without comparison to be considered and esteemed.

It seems well that you have been stirred hereunto even of God, and led to it by the hope and desire you have that a number of savage people, ignorant of Jesus Christ, may, by His grace, come to some knowledge of His holy laws and ordinances. So, therefore, it seems that it has pleased God, by His good providence, to rescue the care which He has had of their salvation until this time, and will bring them to our faith, by Himself, as foreordained.

For if it were needful to show how many from time to time have gone about to find out this great land and to set-

the name of Florida to all the coast line of country extending from the *St. Lawrence* to the "*Rio Grande del Norte*," which empties its waters into the *Gulf of Mexico*. It was first translated into English, in 1582, by HAKLUYT, whose black-letter volume is extremely rare, and is now, for the first time, reprinted in the United States, with notes and biographical sketch of the life of Admiral COLIGNY. It is not known to exist in the original French.

tle there, who, nevertheless, have always failed and have been thwarted in their purpose, some by fear of shipwrecks and some by great storms and tempests, that drove them back, to their marvelous grief.' Of the which there was one, a famous stranger named SEBASTIAN GABOTTO,* an excellent pilot, sent thither by King HENRY VII. in 1498, and many others who could never attain to any habitation nor take possession thereof a foot of ground, nor yet approach or enter those fair countries or rivers into which God has brought us.

Wherefore, my Lord, it may be well said that the living God hath reserved this great country for your poor servants and subjects, as well to the end they might be made great over this poor people and rude nation, as well as to approve the former love which our kings have had for this discovery.

For the late King FRANCIS I., a prince endued with excellent virtues, sent, in the year 1524, a notable and dis-

* While COLUMBUS and other Spanish and Portuguese navigators were prosecuting their voyages in search of new countries, HENRY VII. of England, regretting his indifference regarding the offers made to him by the brothers COLUMBUS, granted JOHN and SEBASTIAN CABOT (GABOTTO), March 5, 1496, letters patent for the discovery and conquest of new lands; and in the month of June of the following year (1497), they reached the coast of Labrador, in lat. 50° N., the inhabitants of which were dressed in the skins of wild animals and armed with clubs, spears, bows, and arrows. On the 3d of February, 1498, the King granted a second patent to JOHN CABOT alone, which is important in establishing the date of the first discovery of North America by the CABOTS. In 1499 SEBASTIAN CABOT made a third voyage to America, and in this voyage he discovered Newfoundland. In all this time it was believed in Europe that these discoveries formed a part of the continent of Asia; but this error soon became manifest, in 1513, when BALBOA discovered the Pacific Ocean.

tinguished man, a Florentine, named JOHN VERRAZANI (GIOVANNI DA VERRAZZANO),* to discover and explore the western parts, as far as could be, who sailing from *Dieppe* (France) with two vessels little differing in the make and burden from those two pinnaces of the King's which your excellency hath ordained for this present expedition. In the which land they have found the elevation of the pole, in the twenty-eighth degree north latitude.

The country which he describes is good and fruitful, and of so good a climate that it is not possible to have any better; being then as yet of no man seen or discovered. But they not being able to bring to pass at this his first voyage that which he had intended, nor to arrive in any port, by numerous disappointments which commonly happen, were

* No exploring expeditions had been undertaken to the New World officially by the French government prior to 1523. All had been left to private enterprise. But in that year FRANCIS I. fitted out four ships and gave the command to GIOVANNI DA VERRAZZANO. The expedition was partly destined as a hostile cruise against the Spaniards, as well as to make new discoveries. He reached the east coast of North America in the latitude of Cape Fear about 34° N. He evidently explored the coast from Florida to Newfoundland, landed in *Chesapeake*, *New York*, and *Narragansett* bays, and afterwards explored the coasts of Maine and Newfoundland. He advanced the knowledge of the country, and gave to France some claim to an extensive territory, which she availed herself of, by establishing colonies in Canada and subsequently in Florida.

JACQUES CARTIER, of *St. Malo*, an experienced navigator, was commissioned by the King of France to fit out two ships, neither of which exceeded sixty tons burden, in the spring of 1534, with a crew not exceeding one hundred and fifty men, and in twenty days after he set sail he reached the *Gulf of St. Lawrence*. He coasted Newfoundland as far as Cape Ray, and landing at a point of land between *Chaleur* Bay and Cape de Rosiers, he took ceremonial possession of the country around in the name of FRANCIS I., and on the 24th of July he erected

compelled to return into France; where, after his arrival, he never ceased to make suit until he was sent again, where at last he died.

The which occasion gave small courage to send thither again another expedition, which was the cause that this laudable enterprise was postponed till 1534, at which time his Majesty, FRANCIS I., sent thither a pilot of *St. Maloes*, a Breton, named JAMES CARTIER, well versed in the art of navigation, and especially of the north parts, commonly called the New Land (Newfoundland), led by some hope to find a passage that goes to the South Seas; who being not able at first to bring anything to pass, that he hoped to do, was sent thither again, the following year, and likewise Le Sire ROBERALL;* and, as it is well known, they did occupy

a cross with a shield bearing the arms of France. On the 25th of July he set sail for France, and arrived at *St. Malo* on the 5th of September, 1534.

CARTIER found his native land distracted with religious dissensions and plunged in renewed war with CHARLES V. Severe laws were decreed against the Protestants. Scaffolds were erected, and penal fires lighted up in all parts of France. Amid the din of defensive war and intestine trouble, the existence of Canada was almost forgotten; and CARTIER waited for better times to return, which he afterwards effected. But the result of his several expeditions was not encouraging to the King, as no rich mineral productions had been discovered. But the pious CARTIER strove to impress upon the King the salubrity, beauty, and richness of the country, and the glory and merit of extending the blessed knowledge of the Christian religion among the heathens of the great West.

* This name must be a misprint. It was meant for FRANÇOIS DE LA ROCHE, Sieur DE ROBERVAL, who was appointed Governor of Canada by FRANCIS I. in 1540, and who sailed for America (Canada), with emigrants, and arrived in Canada in 1542, just as war was about to recommence between CHARLES V. and FRANCIS I., which lasted about three years.

and build and plant the King's armies in the north part, a good way inland, as far as *Tuadu* and *Ochisaon*. Wherefore, my Lord, believe that a thing so commendable, and worthy to be attempted, that God would keep and guide us, desiring always to fulfill your instructions.

When we had fulfilled your orders and made preparation, we, through the favor of God, departed on the 18th February, 1562, with our two vessels, out of the harbor of *Clave de Grace* (Havre de Grace), into the road *Caur* (Caux); and the next day hoisted sail, the wind being east, which lasted five days, that we could not arrive at the *Nanche* (the Manche, or English Channel), that is, from between the coast of Breton (Brittany), and England, and the Isles of Surlinos (Scilly Islands), and *Wesham* (Ushant), so that the wind blowing with great fury and tempest out of the west and south-west altogether contrary to our course, and all that we could do was of no effect, besides the great danger of losing our masts, as also to be hindered in other matters. Wherefore, as well to escape other inconvenience which might follow to the prejudice of our voyage, having regard also to the danger of death, which some of our gentlemen and soldiers, who, being troubled with fevers and other sickness they might fall into; also for other considerations, we thought it best to sail into the roads of *Brest*, in Brittany, to put our sick on land until the tempest was passed. From whence, after we had remained there two days, we went to sea again; so that, my Lord, notwithstanding the sea and winds were against us, yet at the end God

giving us, through His grace and goodness, a most favorable wind, I determined to sail a new course, which had not yet been attempted; traversing the seas of *Oction* * eighteen hundred leagues at the least, which is indeed the true and short course that hereafter must be kept to the honor of our nation, rejecting the old, which so long time hath been holden as true, which is, as it was thought, a thing impossible to have the wind at E. N. E., and keep the race and course we sailed, but that we should be driven towards Africa, the Canary Isles, Madeira, and other lands adjacent. And the cause why we have been the more provoked and assured to take this new course hath been, because it seemed to every one that we might not pass, nor go in this navigation, without the sight and touching at the Antilles and Lucayos,† and other lands adjacent, and there stop to take in fresh water and other necessities, as the Spaniards do in their voyage to New Spain: Whereof (thanks be God), we have no need, nor entered the channel of *Boham* (Bahama), which has been thought impossible.

* Supposed to be either "*Les Mers d'Occident*," the Western or Atlantic Ocean; or "*La Mer Océan*," the Main Ocean.

† Antilles—the Caribbee Islands; Lucayos—the Lucayos or Bahama Islands.

‡ This name is a misprint and must be Bahama; the passage referred to being through the old *Bahama* Channel and the *Gulf of Florida*.

CHAPTER II.



FORESEEING also that it was not expedient for us to pass through the islands, as well to shun many inconveniences that might happen in passing that way (whereof springeth nothing but innumerable quarrels, pleadings, confusions, and breach of all worthy enterprises and good navigations, whereof ensueth complaints and odious questions between the subjects of the King and his friends and allies), and also to the end they might understand that, in the time to come (God having showed us such graces as these his wonderful benefits first showed to the poor people of this good people of so gentle a nature, and a country so pleasant and fruitful, lacking nothing at all that may seem necessary for man's food), we would not have to do with their islands and other lands, which (for that they first discovered them) they keep with much jealousy; trusting that if God will suffer the King, through your persuasion, to cause some part of this incomparable country to be peopled and inhabited with such a number of his poor subjects as you shall think good, there

never happened in the memory of man so great and good commodity to France as this; and, my Lord, for many causes, whereof a man is never able to write too much, under the assured hope that we have always had in executing uprightly that which I had in charge of you, God would prosper our ways and navigation.

After we had constantly and diligently determined upon the way, we should have thought tedious to our company if it had been known unto any without turning or wavering from their first intention. And notwithstanding that Satan did often what he could to throw obstructions and troubles in our way, according to his accustomed subtilties, so it is come to pass that God, by his goodness, hath given us grace to make the greatest traverse of the sea that ever was made in the memory of man, in longitude from east to west; and, therefore, it was commonly said, both in France and Spain, and also among us, that it was impossible for us to safely arrive thither where the Lord did conduct us. Albeit, that all mariners' cards do set the coasts with shipwrecks, which we have found otherwise, as follows:

Thursday, the last of April (30th), 1562, we discovered and approached a fair coast, stretching a great length, covered with an infinite number of high and large trees, we being seven or eight leagues from the shore, the country seeming to us a plain without any appearance of hills; and, arriving within four or five leagues of the land, we cast anchor in ten fathoms of water, the bottom of the sea being covered with osiers and fast hold on the south side, as far

as a certain cape situated under the latitude of nine-and-twenty degrees and a half, which we have named Cape *François* (now called *Canaveral*).

We could neither see river nor bay, wherefore we sent our boats, manned with men of experience, to sound the coast near shore, who, returning to us about one o'clock P. M., declared that they had found, among other things, eight fathoms of water at the hard bank of the sea. Whereupon, having diligently weighed our anchors and hoisted our sails, with fair wind we sailed along the coast with unspeakable pleasure of the odorous perfume and beauty of the scene.

And because there appeared unto us no appearance of any port, about the setting of the sun we cast anchor again; which done, we did behold to and fro the goodly order of the woods, wherewith God had decked every way the said land. Then perceiving toward the north a leaping and breaking of the water, as a stream falling out of the land into the sea, for which we hoisted sails again to double the same while it was yet day. And as we had so done and passed beyond it, there appeared unto us a wide entry of a fair river, which caused us to cast anchor again nearer to land, to the end, next day, that we might see what it was; and though the wind blew for a time boisterously to the shoreward, yet the hold and anchorage was so good that one cable and one anchor held us fast without danger or sliding.

The next day, in the morning, being the 1st of May, 1562, we set out with two barges and a boat well trimmed

to enter this river, which might have astonished and caused us to return to the ships if God had not speedily brought us in, where finding thirty-six fathoms of water, we entered a magnificent and great river,* which as we found it to increase in depth and width, boiling and roaring through the multitude of all kinds of fish. Having passed its mouth, we began to see a great many of the natives, who approached us without fear, pointing out to us the best landing-place, and on our part we gave them every assurance of friendship. Forthwith one of the best appearance among them, a brother of one of the kings or chiefs, who ordered one of the natives or Indians to enter the river and approach our boats to show us the best place for landing. Seeing this, and without any more doubting, we landed and rewarded him with a looking-glass and other pretty things of small value, and afterward he ran to his lord or king, who forthwith sent me his girdle, made of red leather, in token of friendship; and I began to go toward him, when he came toward me with all his men, who received me kindly and modestly; yea, more than our men did.

And after we had congratulated him kindly, we fell to the ground on our knees a short distance from them, to give thanks to God, and beseech him to continue still his goodness towards us, and bring to the knowledge of our Saviour Christ this poor people.

* This was probably the river now called *St. John's*, as there is no other near the locality which corresponds with the author's description.

While we were thus praying, they sitting upon the ground, which was strewed with bay branches, they beheld and hearkened to us attentively without speaking or moving; and as I made a sign unto their King, lifting up mine arm, and stretching forth one finger, to make them look up heavenward; he, likewise lifting up his arm towards heaven, put forth two fingers, whereby it seemed that he wished to tell us that he worshiped the Sun and Moon for their gods; as afterwards we understood it so.

In the meantime their number increased, and thither came the King's brother who was first with us, then the sisters, wives, and children, and being thus assembled, they caused a great many bay boughs cut, and therewith a place too dressed for us, distant from theirs two fathom; for it is their manner to talk and bargain sitting; and the chief or king to be separated from the common people; with a show of great obedience to their kings, elders, and superiors.

They are all naked, of good stature, well shapen of body as any people in the world; very gentle, courteous, and good-natured. The most part of them cover their waists and privities with hart (deer) skins painted with a variety of colors; and the forepart of their bodies and arms they also paint with pretty devices in azure, red, and black, so well and properly, that the best painters of Europe could not amend (do) better.*

* "Dwelling under warm skies," says JONES on the antiquities of the Southern Indians, "the Southern Indians passed the greater part of the year in a state of almost entire nudity, and delighted in painting their bodies with the most

The women have their bodies covered with a certain herb, like unto moss, whereof the cedar and other trees are always covered. The men also trim themselves after sundry fashions. They are of tawny color, hawked nosed, and of pleasant countenance. The women are well formed, and will not suffer any one to approach too near them. But we were not in their houses, nor were we near any of them.

After we tarried on the north side of the river (which we have called *May*, because we discovered it on the first day of May), for the most part of the day, we made alliance and entered into amity with them, and presented the King and his brethren with garments of blue cloth variegated with yellow *fleur de luce*. And they seemed sorry when we took our departure, so that most of them went into the water up to their necks to set our boats afloat, putting into them different kinds of fish,* which they took from their weirs, built in the water with great reeds, so well and cunningly set together after the fashion of a labyrinth, with many turns and crooks, which it was impossible to construct without much skill and industry.

But desiring to spend the rest of the day on the other

brilliant colors they could command; and both men and women covered their arms and bodies with ornaments of gold jewelry, pearls, beads, shells, etc., and when the grave opened to receive them, these prized possessions were deposited with them. The *tumuli* of the South are now the storehouses from whence are obtained these ornaments" (as well as fine specimens of Indian pottery).

* "Trout, mullets, perch, bass, and a variety of other fish different from ours." (See Historical Collections of Louisiana and Florida, p. 178, Vol. I., New Series.)

side of the river, to become acquainted with those Indians we saw, we went there without any difficulty, and landed amongst them, who received us gently and kindly, giving us of their fruits—mulberries, raspberries, and other fruits they found in their way. Soon after this came the King with his brethren, and others, with bows and arrows in their hands, with their behavior soldierlike and warlike and bold as may be. They were naked and painted as the others; their hair was long and trussed up, with a lace made of herbs, to the top of their heads, but they had neither their children nor wives with them.

After we had lovingly entertained and presented them with like gifts of haberdashery wares, cutting hooks, and hatchets, and clothed the King and his brethren with like robes as we had given to them on the other side, we entered and explored their country thereabouts, which is the fairest, fruitfulest, and pleasantest of all the world, abounding in honey, venison, wild game, forests, woods of all sorts, cypress, magnolia, cedar, palms, and bays the highest and greatest; and vines with grapes, which without art and man's help or trimming will grow to the tops of the oaks and other trees of great height. And the sight of the fair meadows is a pleasure not able to be expressed with speech; full of hems, bitterns, curlews, mallards, geese, woodcocks, and other small birds; with harts, hinds, bucks, swine, and other kind of wild beasts which we saw by their tracks, and afterwards in other places by their cries and howling at night.

Also we saw conies and hares; silkworms in great number,

and a great deal larger and better than our silkworms. To conclude, it is marvelous to think of the things seen there, and the incomparable land which never yet has been plowed, that brings forth according to the first nature wherewith the Eternal God hath indued it.

About their houses, they labor and till the ground, sowing their fields with a grain called maize, whereof they make their meals; and in their grounds they plant beans, gourds, citrons, cucumbers, peas, and many other fruits and roots unknown to us. Their spades and mattocks are made of wood so well and fitly as it is possible, which they make with certain stones, oyster-shells and mussels, with which they also make their bows and arrows and short lances, and cut and polish all sorts of wood that they employ about their buildings. They also grow many walnut-trees, hazel and cherry trees, very fair and large.

And generally we have seen the same simples and herbs in France, and of the like goodness and flavor. The people here are of great strength and good archers. The strings to their bows are made of leather, and their arrows are of reed, which they head with the teeth of fish. As we now demand of them concerning the country we call *Sivola** (*Cibola*),

*The correct form of this name appears to be *Sibola* or *Cibola*, which is the name of an Indian district, or province, on the river *Gila*, about one thousand miles north-west from Mexico. The attention of the Spaniards was first directed towards it by a missionary named MARCOS DE NIÇA, who, in the year 1539, penetrated into this unconquered region; and, on his return to Mexico, gave such a glowing description of its wealth and population, and also its seven great cities, that an expedition was fitted out to conquer the country under

whereof some have written not to be far thence, and be some leagues situate within the land, and toward the sea they called the *South*, where they might go thither with their boats, by rivers, in twenty days. They that have written of this kingdom and town of *Sivola*, and other towns and kingdoms thereabouts, say that there is a great abundance of gold and silver, precious stones, and other great riches, and that the people had their arrows headed with iron, and sharp-pointed turquoises. Thus, the night approaching, it was necessary for us to return on shipboard. We accordingly took leave of them, much to their grief, but more to ours, for we had no one to (pilot) enter the rivers with our ships.

It was not their custom either to eat or drink from sunrise till sunset : yet the King openly would needs drink with us, praying us to give him the cup whereout we had drunk ; and so, making him to understand that we would see him again next day, we retired to our ships, which lay about six leagues from the haven to the sea.

the command of RODRIGO DEL RIO, the Governor of New Biscay, without much success. Recent explorations, however, in Arizona, by military expeditions of United States troops, confirm in part the existence of those cities. The names by which they are now most widely known, are *Oryina*, *She-bo-pav-wee*, *She-pa-la-wee*, *Mee-shom-o-neer*, *Moqui*, *Mo-guee-nah*, and *To-wah*, still inhabited by the descendants of the Aztecs, who were driven out of Mexico by CORTÉZ. Their government is a conservative republic. Power is vested in thirteen caciques, or chiefs. Suffrage is universal, and the people are far advanced in civilization.

CHAPTER III.



THE next morning we returned to land again, accompanied with the captain's gentlemen, and soldiers, and other persons, carrying with us a pillar or column of hard stone, with the King's arms engraved thereon, to plant and set the same at the entry of the port, in some high place, where it might be easily seen ; and being come thither before the Indians were assembled, we discovered, on the south side of the river, a place very suitable for the purpose, upon a little hill, compassed with cypress, bays, palms, and other trees, with sweet-smelling and pleasant shrubs, in the middle whereof we planted the first boundary or limit of his Majesty.

This done, perceiving our first Indians assembling, not without showing some dislike of those on the south side, where we had set the limit, tarried for us in the same place where they met with us the day before, seeming to us there was some enmity between them and others. But when they perceived our long stay on this side, they ran to see what we had done in that place, where we landed first, and had

set our limit. They viewed it a great while without touching it in any way, or ever speaking to us about it at any time after. Howbeit we could scarcely depart from them without great grief, and they continued to follow us along the river from all parts, presenting us with hart skins, painted and unpainted; meal, little cakes, fresh water, roots like rinbabe (rhubarb), which they hold in great estimation, and make use of for medicine. They also brought to us bags of red colors, and some small spices like unto vire, perceiving among them fair things painted as it had been with grains of scarlet, showing unto us they had in their land gold, silver, and copper, of which we bought some; also lead, turquoises, and great abundance of pearls, which they told us they took out of oysters along the river side; and as fair pearls as are found in any country of the world. For we saw on one of their men, as we entered our boats, a pearl hanging to a collar of gold about his neck, as great as an acorn. This man, as fast as he had taken fish in one of their fishing packs (weirs), brought them to our boats; and one of our men, perceiving the great size thereof, and pointing his finger towards it, the Indian drew back, and would not come near our boats for fear that if he did we would take his collar and pearl from him, but which he would have given us for a looking-glass or a knife. He was one of the best-looking men of all the company. The day being well gone, which grieved us very much, for the commodity of great riches to be obtained here, and desiring to employ the rest of the day with the Indians on the south side, which we talked with the day

before, who still remained to look at us, we crossed the river to their shore, where we found them patiently waiting for us quietly, and in good order, with new paintings upon their faces, and feathers upon their heads.

The King, with his bow and arrows lying by him, sat on the ground, covered with green boughs, among his followers, who were fine-looking and well-formed men, very active, and having upon their heads their hair trussed up, gathered, and worked together with great cunning, and fastened after the form of a diadem. One of them had, hanging about his neck, a round plate of red copper, well polished, with a smaller one of silver hung in the middle of it; and on his ears a small plate of copper, with which they wipe the sweat from their bodies.

They pointed to us there was a great store of this metal in the country, about five or six days' journey from thence, both on the south and north side of this river, which they went thither in their boats to collect, which boats they make of one piece of a tree, working on it so cunningly that they can put in these boats fifteen or twenty men.

When they row, they stand up, having short oars, after the fashion of a peel; and being thus among them, they gave us meal dressed and baked, good and well-tasted; also beans and fish, crabs, lobsters, crevices, and many other kind of good fish, and showing us their dwellings afar off. The night now approaching, we returned to our ships with much sorrow, for we durst not hazard our ship, by reason of a bar of sand that was at the mouth of the river, notwith-

standing at full tide there were at least two fathoms and a half of water, and is but a leap over a surge to pass this bar, not passing two cables in length, and then afterwards six or seven fathoms of water everywhere ; so that it made a very fair haven, and ships from four to six hundred tons may enter therein at all floods, yea, of a far greater burden, if there were Frenchmen that might pilot the entry as they do in France.

The situation is in thirty degrees north latitude, a good climate, healthful, good temperature, delightfully pleasant, the natives of a good and amiable disposition, who willingly obey, yea, content to serve those that shall, with gentleness and humanity, go about to win them, as it is needful for those that be sent thither hereafter so to do, and as I have charged those that be left there to do, to the end that they may ask and learn of them where they get their gold, copper, and turquoises, and other things yet unknown to us, by reason of the short time we remained there ; for if any rude or rigorous means should be used towards these people, they would fly hither and thither through the forests and country, and abandon their habitations.

The next day, being the 3d of May (1562), being desirous to find out harbors to anchor in, we hoisted sail again, and after we had ranged the coast as near shore as we could, there appeared unto us, about seven leagues on this side of the river *May*, a great opening or bay of some river, whither we sent one of our boats, and there found one entry almost like the river *May*, and within the same of as great

depth, and as large, and dividing itself into great streams stretching towards the highlands, with many others of less size, which divide the country into beautiful and great lands, and small and fair meadows.

Having entered about three leagues, we found a place commodious, strong, and pleasant of situation, and certain Indians who received us friendly. Nevertheless, we approached so near their houses, it seemed to offend them, and that we went there contrary to their wish, for at the noise and cries they made, their wives and children escaped into the woods with all their household goods. We afterwards went to their houses, but none of the natives would accompany us.

Their houses are made of wood, fitly and closely set up, and covered with reeds, the most part after the fashion of a pavilion. But there was one house among the rest very long and wide, with seats round about made of reeds nicely put together, which serve both for beds and seats, two feet high from the ground, set upon round pillars painted red, yellow, and blue, and neatly polished. Some of these people observed at a distance that we did not, in any manner, injure their dwellings nor gardens; they returned to us before our leaving, seeming well satisfied, and gave us water, fruits, and hart's skins.

It is a place of wonderful fertility, and the ground so rich that it is likely that it would bring forth wheat and corn twice a year; and similar and like unto the land we found upon the river *May*. Without coming into the sea, this arm

doth divide and make many other Isles of May, as also many great islands, by which we travel from one island to another, between land and land; and it seems that men may sail without danger through all the country, and never enter the great ocean, which is a great advantage.

This is the land of *Checere*,* whereof some have written, and may have explored for the great riches they perceived by some Indians to be found there. It is in so good a climate that none of our men, though we were there in the hottest season of the year, the sun entering Cancer, were troubled with any sickness. The people there live long and in great health and strength, so that the old men go without staves, and are able to go and run like the youngest, and are only known by the wrinkles in their face, and decay of sight.

We departed from them very friendly, and with their consent. But the night overtaking us, we were compelled to lie in our ships all that night till it was day, floating upon this river, which we have called the *Seine*, because the entry of it is as broad as from *Havre de Grace* to *Honfleur*.

At the break of day we espied, out of the south side, one of the most pleasant meadow grounds that might be seen, into which we went, finding at the very entry a long, fair, and great lake, and an innumerable number of footsteps of the great harts and hinds, their steps being all fresh and new, and it seemeth that the people nourish them like tame

* The adjacent district to *Broad* river, of *Port Royal*, South Carolina, now called *St. Helena*, is the *Chichora* (*Checere* of *Ribault*) of the old Spanish maps.

cattle, in great herds ; for we saw the steps of Indians who followed them.

The channel and depth of the river *Seine* is on that side of the meadow which is in the Isle of May ; and after returning to our ships we continued to sail along the coast as near the shore as we could, to know more and more of the coast. And after we had sailed six or seven leagues more, there appeared unto us another bay, where we cast anchor, and, stopping all night, in the morning we went thither, and finding by our sounding at the entry many banks, we durst not enter there with our great ship, having named the river *Somme*,* which is eight nine, ten, eleven fathoms deep, dividing itself into many great islands and small meadow grounds and pastures, and everywhere the greatest abundance of fish ; and on the north-west side there is a great river that cometh from the country of great extent, and another on the east side, which return into the sea.

So that, my Lord, it is a country full of havens, rivers, and islands of such fertility as cannot with tongue be expressed ; and where, in short time, great and precious commodities might be found. And, besides this, we discovered seven great rivers more, cutting and dividing the land into fair and great islands.

* The river *Somme* appears to correspond most with the river *St. Illa* and *Fykill* or *St. Andrew's Sound*.

CHAPTER IV.



THE Indian inhabitants there are all alike in appearance and manners, and the country in fertility apt and extensive throughout to bear and bring forth abundantly all that men would sow and plant upon it. There are everywhere the highest and greatest pine trees that can be seen, good smelling, and where might be gathered, cutting only the bark, as much rosin, turpentine, and frankincense as men would desire. Wherefore, being not able to enter and lie with our great vessels there, we could not remain any longer, nor enter far into the rivers and countries as we would have desired, for it is well known how many accidents have happened unto men attempting new discoveries, but also in all places by leaving their great vessels in the sea, far from land. As for the other rivers, we have given them the following names; and to the islands adjoining them the same name that the next river hath, as you will see by the maps or sea-cards (charts) that I have made thereof. As to the fourth, the name of *Loire*; to the fifth, *Charnet*; to the sixth, *Cara*;

to the seventh, *Belle* ; to the eighth, *Grande* ; to the ninth, *Port Royal* ; and to the tenth, *Belle Voir*.*

Upon Whitsunday, the 27th of May, 1562, after we had considered that there was no remedy but to endeavor to find a harbor for our ships, as well as to overhaul and trim them, as well as to get fresh water, wood, and other necessities, whereof we were of the opinion there was no fitter place than *Port Royal*, and when we had sounded the channel, thanked be God, we entered safely therein with our ships, against the opinion of many, finding the same one of the greatest and fairest of the greatest havens of the world.

Howbeit, it must not be forgotten, that in approaching it within seven leagues of the land, that on the east side, drawing towards the south-east, the land is flat, nevertheless, at a full sea-tide there is everywhere four fathoms of water keeping in the channel.

* The names of these rivers, as given by LAUDONNIERE, in his history of the first discovery and settlement of Florida, published in the first volume of the Historical Collections of Louisiana and Florida, new series, 1869, are *Loire*, *Charente*, *Garonne*, *Gironde*, *Belle*, *Grande*, and the last, *Bellevoir*. No indications are given in the text by which these seven rivers can be distinguished at the present day. More than one writer has offered *conjectures* on this point. The same remark will apply to the two rivers named respectively, by M. RIBAUT, *Libourne* and *Chenonceau*. The latter is probably *Archer's* or *Scull Creek*, about six miles from the present town of *Beaufort*. The rivers discovered by RIBAUT may perhaps correspond to those known to us at present, and the following may be a correct classification of them, viz.: *May* to the *St. John's* ; *Seine*, the *St. Mary's* ; *Somme*, the *Satilla* ; *Loire*, the *Altamaha* ; *Charante*, the *Newport* ; *Garonne*, the *Ogechee* ; *Gironde*, the *Savannah* ; *Belle (voir)*, the *May*, in South Carolina ; *Grande*, the *Broad* ; *Port Royal*, the *Port Royal*. The *Broad* river, says CARDENAS, " *Ensayo Chronologico de la Florida*," is the *Jordan* of South Carolina, and also by VASQUEZ DE AYLLON, who visited it in 1520.

In this part there are many rivers, some large and some small, where, without danger, the greatest ships of the world may be harbored, and where we saw no Indians inhabiting thereabouts. The port and river is nearly ten or twelve leagues up in the country, although it is one of the most fruitful countries that ever was seen, and where nothing lacketh, and also as good as can be found in other places.

Here we found a great number of pepper-trees, the pepper yet green, and not ready to be gathered. Also the best water in the world, and so great a variety of fishes that you may take them without net or fishing-rod, as many as you will. Also an innumerable variety of wild game ; and on the north-east and east side of the small islands there are bushes of grapes which one may gather and carry away.

There are also to be seen a great number of herons, bitterns, curlews, and small birds. We found the Indians here more suspicious than others we had seen before ; yet after we had been with them in their houses, and showed them courtesies, and leaving with them knives, beads, and looking-glasses, which they admire and esteem above pearls and gold to give to their wives and children, they became less suspicious.

For some of them came to our boats, of which we took two of them on board our ships, clothing and using them as kindly as possible. But they ceased not day nor night to lament, and at length they ran away. Although I was willing to bring some of them with us, according to your wishes on behalf of yourself and the Princes, yet I forbore

to do so, for many considerations and reasons, for we were in doubt that, leaving some of our men to settle in their country, the men, women, and children would not have ceased to pursue them till they returned to their country.

This is the river *Jordan*,* in my opinion, whereof so much has been spoken, which is very fair, and the country good, both for the convenience of habitation, and also for many other things which would be too long to write.

On the 30th of May we planted another column or pillar, engraved with the King's arms, on the south side, on high ground, at the entrance of a great river, which we called *Libourne*, where there is a lake of fresh water very good, and on the same side, a little lower down towards the entrance of the harbor, is one of the fairest fountains that a man may drink of, which rushes down to the river from a high bank † out of a red sandy soil, and yet, for all that, fruitful and good air, where it would seem that some Indians have fair houses.

There we saw fair and great vines, with grapes hanging in

* The *Broad* river of *Port Royal*, South Carolina. "The nearest river," says BRIGSTOCK, who traveled in Carolina, Georgia, and Florida, in 1623, to Virginia, "was the *Jordan*, which lies in thirty-two degrees north latitude, from whence twenty leagues farther south is the promontory of *St. Helena*, near *Port Royal* where the French began their settlement. Between the *Jordan* and *St. Helena* are *Oristanum* and *Cayuga*; *Oristanum* lying four leagues from *Cayuga*. From *St. Helena* to *Dos Baxos* is five leagues, and from thence to Bay *Asapo* is three leagues; thence to *Capula*, eight leagues; thence to *Alcamy* is twenty-three leagues, and to *San Matteo* (now called *St. John's* river) fifty-two leagues."

† Probably *Hilton Head*, where in after years (1863) the batteries of the Southern Confederacy fired upon the war ships of the United States of America.

large clusters, and large and small trees ; which country seemeth to be the pleasantest and convenient for settlement. Wherefore, my Lord, trusting that you will not think it amiss, considering the commodities that may be sent from thence, if we leave a number of men there, to fortify and provide themselves with necessary things ; for in all new discoveries the chiefest thing to be done is to fortify and people the country. I had no sooner proposed to make a settlement there, than a large number with good feelings consented, and we had much to do to restrain them from their importunity. Especially many of our shipmasters and principal pilots and others we could not spare. Nevertheless, we left there thirty gentlemen, soldiers and mariners, and at their own request and prayer, and by the advice of the gentlemen sent on behalf of the Prince and yourself.* And having left

* The political state of affairs in France at the time of RIBAUT's return prevented any further attention being directed towards this colony until 1564. But on the return of peace, M. LAUDONNIERE was sent with three ships to carry succors to the infant colony. He arrived on the coast of Florida on the 22d of June, 1564, and, finding the settlement at *Charlesfort* abandoned, he selected another spot for the colony near the mouth of the river *May*, now called *St. John*, where he erected a fort and gave it the name of *Fort Carolin*, in honor of CHARLES IX. of France. He afterwards wrote a history of the Colonization of Florida, which is printed in the first volume of the new series of the "Historical Collection of Louisiana and Florida," 1869. It is somewhat remarkable that several of the primitive North American colonies were settled by people who repaired to them on account of religious oppression at home. New England was colonized by Puritans exiled by Royal and Episcopal tyranny. Virginia was replenished by Cavaliers and Episcopal fugitives from Republican and Puritan ascendancy ; while Maryland was founded by Catholics, who had left England and Ireland to escape Protestant intolerance ; and had the French Protestants

Captain ALBERT DE LA PIERRIA, an officer of experience, the first that offered to establish a settlement, and further, by their advice and choice fortified themselves on the north side of an island,* upon a place of strong situation, upon a river which we named *Chenonceau*, and named the fort *Charlesfort*.

After I had instructed and duly admonished them of what they should do, as well for their manner of proceeding and good behavior of the colony, on the 9th day of June, 1562, we set sail from *Port Royal* and sailed along the coast to the fortieth degree of north latitude. And forasmuch as there came upon us stormy and cloudy weather, and very uncomfortable for us, and considering, amongst other things, that we had lost our cables, which is the principal thing for them who go to discover new countries, where continually, both night and day, they must lie at anchor; also our provisions being damaged, and lack of boatswains to direct our barges, and have our ships supplied. The statement made by our pilots and some others that had been at some places where we purposed to visit, and the danger also and inconvenience that might happen to us, and by reason of the great fogs on the sea, that had already come, we concluded it was too late in the season to undertake this thing. And having weighed and considered also that it was important and

succeeded in Florida and South Carolina, those States would also have been among the number which religious intolerance had forced into existence.

* It is generally supposed that *Charlesfort* was constructed on this island, named in old Spanish maps "*Santa Cruz*," and near the present beautiful town of *Beaufort*, one of the oldest settlements in North America.

necessary that your Lordship should with diligence be informed of the result of the voyage, and through the help of God we returned directly home, to render an account of our voyage.

Praying God may please to keep your Lordship in good health, etc.

On his arrival in France, RIBAUT found the country in a state of great commotion. The civil war between the Huguenots and the Catholics was raging, and neither the King nor COLIGNY had time to listen to RIBAUT's solicitations to send relief to the colonists left in French Florida. These colonists remained, therefore, during the remainder of 1562-3, without assistance from France; and, after many trials and sufferings, they were at last forced to abandon their settlement and return to France.

At the close of 1563 peace was concluded between the Catholics and Protestants, and COLIGNY reminded the King of the colony left among the savages on a wild coast, and laid before him a plan for another expedition for their relief. Thereupon, three vessels, with permission of the King (CHARLES IX.), were fitted out, under the command of Captain RENÉ DE LAUDONNIERE, one of Captain RIBAUT's officers on the first expedition, with instructions to make an accurate description and map of the country.

The expedition was joined by several young noblemen of France, who equipped themselves at their own expense. Some veteran soldiers were added, and two of the most celebrated French mariners of the age, the brothers M. and T. LE VASSEUR, as pilots, and the fleet arrived in Florida June 22, 1564. Taking into consideration that "*Port Royal*," where RIBAUT had established his colony in 1562, was not a desirable place, he proceeded to the river *May* (*St. John's*), took possession of that country in the name of his sovereign, and built a fort, which he called, in honor of CHARLES IX., "*La Carolin*," and sent a report of his proceedings to Admiral COLIGNY.

In the following year, after many delays, another expedition was fitted out under the command of Captain RIBAUT, consisting of seven ships with provisions, manned by several hundred soldiers, to give relief and found a complete colony, and arrived off the mouth of the river *May* August 27, 1565. Meanwhile, the Spanish government had been apprised of the expedition of RIBAUT, and dispatched an expedition under Don PEDRO MENENDEZ DE AVILES to drive the colonists out of Florida, and take possession of the country, which by right of first discovery, as well as for other reasons, was claimed to be a part of the Spanish dominions; and on the arrival of the Spanish fleet, without giving any warning, at once made show of an attack, and the French fleet finding resistance impossible, as Captain RIBAUT was then paying a visit to the colony, the commander set sail for the open sea to watch the movements of the commander of the Spanish fleet, who set sail to take refuge in the harbor of *St. Augustine*. Meanwhile, RIBAUT rejoined his fleet and set sail to attack the Spaniards, but before he could reach them, the French fleet were wrecked in a storm and drove ashore not far from *Matanzas Inlet*, where those who effected a landing were barbarously butchered by the orders of Don PEDRO MENENDEZ ADELANTADO, of Florida; and, in the summer of 1567, he returned to Spain to make report of his grand achievements, and to receive the promised rewards from the King for the capture of "Fort Carolin," on the river *May*, and the massacre of the almost defenseless garrison, and expulsion of the French from Florida.

See Historical Collections of Louisiana and Florida, new series, pp. 178-324; Collections of the Maine Historical Society, p. 432. The Narratives of Mendoza and Solis are printed in this volume.

Memoir

OF THE

HAPPY RESULT AND PROSPEROUS VOYAGE OF THE FLEET
COMMANDED BY THE ILLUSTRIOUS CAPTAIN-GENERAL
PEDRO MENENDEZ DE AVILES, WHICH SAILED FROM
CADIZ ON THE MORNING OF THURSDAY, JUNE 28TH, FOR
THE COAST OF FLORIDA, AND ARRIVED THERE ON THE
28TH OF AUGUST, 1565.

BY

FRANCISCO LOPEZ DE MENDOZA GRAJALES,

*Chaplain of the Expedition.**

CHAPTER I.



HE Lord having granted us favorable weather from the first, five days' sailing brought us in sight of the Lanzarote Islands and *Fuerte Ventura*. The following Wednesday, July 5, 1565, we reached the Canary Islands, which are two hundred and fifty leagues from *Cadiz*, where we stopped three days to lay in a supply of wood and water.

* MENENDEZ set sail from Cadiz on the 29th June, 1565, with eleven ships leaving the smaller vessels of his fleet to follow. His whole force amounted to two thousand six hundred and forty-six persons (in thirty-four vessels, one of

The following Sunday, July 8, our fleet, composed of eight ships, under the direction of our general, left the Canary Islands, and proceeded to the Island of Dominica, which was to be conquered from the *Caribbee* Indians. Unfortunately, the very evening we set sail, our first galley and a patache became separated from us. For two days we coasted up and down, hoping to rejoin them, but without any success; and our admiral, seeing that we should not be able to accomplish it, gave the order for us to sail directly to Dominica, where we were to await them in case they had not arrived before us. During this voyage a shallop, or boat, commanded by Capt. FRANCESCO SANCHEZ, sprung aleak, and as it got beyond the control of the crew, he asked assistance from us, but it was impossible to give him any. The pilot wishing to continue to sail with the other vessels until they should arrive at their destination, and have the leak repaired there, the captain and a soldier had recourse to their swords to oblige the pilot to return to port, being fearful lest they should all be drowned. The pilot declared himself unable to do this on account of the rough weather, so they decided to make for the cape on the south-west in order to reach the land as soon as possible. Thus it happened that we were obliged to leave them, which we did with deep regret and great anxiety as to what would

which was the flag-ship San Pelayo, of nine hundred and ninety-six tons), among which were twelve Franciscans, eight Jesuits, and other ecclesiastics, and many Knights of Galicia, Biscay, and the Asturias. (*See Parkman's Pioneers of France in the New World.*)

become of them. The five vessels which remained of our fleet had a prosperous voyage the rest of the way, thanks to our Lord and His blessed mother. Up to Friday, the 20th, we had very fine weather, but at ten o'clock that day a violent wind arose, which by two in the afternoon had become the most frightful hurricane one could imagine. The sea, which rose to the very clouds, seemed about to swallow us up alive, and such was the fear and apprehension of the pilot and other sailors, that I exerted myself to exhort my brethren and companions to repentance. I represented to them the passion of our Lord Jesus Christ, His justice and His mercy, and with so much success that I passed the night in confessing them.

Very often the sea washed completely over the deck where we were gathered, one hundred and twenty men having no other place to go, as there was only one between-decks, and that was full of biscuit, wine, and other provisions. We were in such great danger that it was found necessary to lighten the vessel, and we threw a great many barrels of water into the sea, as well as our cooking apparatus and seven millstones which we were taking with us. Most of the reserve rigging and the great ship's cable were cast overboard, and still the waves continued to break over us. The admiral then resolved to throw all the chests of the men into the sea, but the distress of the soldiers was so great that I felt constrained to throw myself at his feet and beg him not to do it. I reminded him that we ought to trust to the great mercy of our Lord, and, like a true Christian, he

showed confidence in God, and spared the luggage. When Jesus Christ permitted the return of day, we looked at each other as at men raised from the dead, and though our suspense during Saturday was no less than that of the preceding night, light itself was a consolation to us ; but when night, however, found us again still in the same dangerous situation, we thought we must surely perish, and during this whole night I preached to the crew, and exhorted them to put their trust in God. Sunday morning came, and your Lordship can fancy how we rejoiced to see daylight once more, although the storm continued unabated all day, and until noon of the following Monday, when our Lord deigned to have compassion and mercy on us, and calmed the fury of the winds and waves.

When the tempest arose our five vessels were sailing in company, but during the night the hurricane was so violent that they were driven in different directions, and we lost sight of one another for three days. Finally, one morning, we saw a ship approaching which we recognized as one of our fleet, although we had at first feared it was French.

We were all so tired, and our minds so confused by what we had suffered, that the pilots lost all calculations of reckoning as to what was our proper course ; but, inspired by the Holy Ghost, they directed the men to steer W. S. W., and we came in sight of the Island of Desirade.

On Sunday, August 5, the day of Notre Dame des Neiges, just as we were approaching the island, we were

assailed by a heavy swell and a westerly gale which drove us back to the Island of Dominica, inhabited by *Caribbee** Indians, where we entered the harbor about nine o'clock in the evening. As soon as we had cast anchor, the captain gave orders to lower and arm the ship's boat, which the sailors manned, and, being provided with jars, went ashore in search of water, of which we were in the greatest need. An Italian domestic whom I had went with them, and in the early morning, while searching for water by a bright moonlight he discovered at the foot of a tree the largest and most frightful tortoise one could imagine. At the first movement it made, they thought it was a serpent or some other deadly animal, and cried to each other to fly to the shore where their boat was; but afterwards, as there were six of them, they felt ashamed of their fears, and, each taking an oar or a stick, they returned to where they had first heard the sound, and, as I have said, discovered a tortoise. Armed with their oars, they approached it and tried to turn it on its back.

* The *Caribbee* Indians were the natural inhabitants of the Antilles. They flattened their heads, had small eyes, and wore their hair long, and generally lived to a great age. Their skin was of a deep, swarthy copper color. They painted it with *rocou* and *oil*, which defended them from the sun, and drove away the mosquitoes. The women were of good figure, with round faces, long black hair, and smiling countenances, and adorned their arms, neck, and ankles with bracelets made of colored stones and shells. They spoke three sorts of languages, one common to them all, a second peculiar to the women, in which they conversed among themselves; and a third, used only in their councils and assemblies, which was not understood by the women. They regarded themselves a superior race, and looked upon the negro imported from Africa by the Spaniards with contempt.—*Dictionnaire langue des Caribes, par P. Breton.*

The animal fled towards the sea, but they were at last successful in attacking it by one leg, and were able to bring it on to the ship. It required six men next day to cut it up. The creature was a female and contained more than five hundred eggs, each about the size of a hen's egg, and having a yolk and white, but quite round in shape. The meat, especially when roasted, looks and tastes like veal. These tortoises live principally in the sea, although they go on shore to sleep. When they are filled with eggs, as this one was, they deposit them on the ground and cover them with earth, where after a certain time the young hatch out, and then go into the sea to live. On Tuesday morning the admiral fitted out the boat, in which the sailors were to go in search of wood and water, and told me that if I wished, I might accompany them, although he advised me to be very careful. Anxious to go ashore, I did not stop to consider all the danger to which I might be exposed. I called my Italian servant and directed him to take a half dozen soiled shirts and some other linen, and gave him a piece of soap with which to wash them when we got on land, which he did very well. I had fifty jars filled with excellent water, in the forest, and then sent off the boat. While my servant and four other men were busy washing the clothing, I climbed upon some rocks on the seashore and amused myself collecting shells, of which there were a great number, when, on raising my eyes, I perceived three entirely naked men descending a hill. As we were in an enemy's country, I thought they must of course be *Caribbees*, and ran as fast

as I could to join my companions. Each armed with a half dozen stones; we then went to meet the men. When we came within reach of their voices, we perceived that they were some of our own people, which, considering the condition we thought ourselves in, gave me the greatest pleasure. The explanation of this adventure is this: only a certain number of us were permitted by the admiral to go ashore, but the poor wretches who remained behind, having also the greatest desire to land, five soldiers agreed to swim after and join us. The distance was greater than it appeared, however, and the current being very rapid, two out of the five were drowned. The other three crossed the mountain to where I was, and as they wore no clothing, I thought it must be an ambuscade of *Caribbees*. I had about a hundred Peru jars filled with fresh water, and a large quantity of wood gathered, and at about four o'clock we returned to the ship. Just then, so fresh a breeze sprung up, that at daylight on Wednesday, we found ourselves at the Island of Monserrat, thirty-five leagues from there. It is said that from the Canary Islands to Dominica there are about eight hundred leagues sailing. Farther on are a great many other islands which bear the names of different saints, Guadeloupe and the Virgin Islands. This group appears to be about two hundred leagues in circumference, but the ground is very stony and uninhabitable.

CHAPTER II.



ON Thursday, August 9, about noon, we came in sight of Porto Rico; but at nightfall, the pilot being fearful lest we should run aground on the sand-banks which surround the island and its harbor, ordered all the sails to be brailed up; next morning, however, the breeze having stiffened a little, we again set sail, and entered the port on Friday, St. Lawrence's Day, at about three in the afternoon. On entering the harbor, we discovered our first galley anchored there, with the San Pelayo, which had become separated from us in a storm.* Loud cries of joy resounded on all sides, and we thanked the Lord that he had permitted us to find each other again, but it would be impossible for me to tell how it all happened. The captains and ensigns came immediately to see us, and I regaled them with some confectionery and other things which I had brought with me. That same day I went ashore with the admiral, and we visited

* Five of the scattered ships had now rejoined company, comprising, exclusive of officers, about five hundred soldiers, two hundred sailors, and one hundred colonists. (*See Letter of Menendez to the King, Sept. 11, 1565.*)

the general, who received us handsomely and with great demonstrations of affection. In the evening, seeing that I did not present myself at supper because he had not invited me, he sent for me. On the day following he gave me quarters in a beautiful house, and cordially invited me to dine with him, for which, of course, I returned my thanks. We remained four days in port, during most of which time it rained. On Wednesday, the 15th, about ten o'clock, more than thirty men deserted and concealed themselves around the harbor, among them, three of the seven priests who accompanied the expedition. It was impossible to find them, dead or alive, which distressed the general very much, and me, too, as it added greatly to my labors. At this seaport I was offered a chaplaincy where I should have received a *peso* for every mass said, and I should have had plenty to do all the year round, but I feared to accept, lest I should be talked about as the others were, and then it is not a city where one is likely to receive promotion; and besides I wanted to see if by refusing a personal benefit for the love of Jesus, He would not grant me a greater, since it is my desire to serve our Lord and His blessed mother. The rich persons in that country have made their money in cattle, some of the wealthy land-owners having twenty to thirty thousand cows, and others as many mares, each worth only about forty *pesos* of base coin, or about one hundred and twenty Spanish reals. The mares are not worth more, because they do not know how to make use of them, unless occasionally to draw loads or produce colts. As to the

cattle, only their hides are profitable, each hide being worth eleven or twelve reals of that country. I mention these things, because they wished to persuade me to remain in that city. Señor VALVERDE and I paid eight reals for an *azumbre* of wine, and even at that price it was not very good. We replenished our little stock of provisions for the voyage across, with such things as excellent salt meat, oranges, lemons, sweet potatoes, sugar-canes, and a dozen beef's tongues, and salt ribs. We took these precautions, because on our outward trip we had learned by experience what one is likely to suffer at sea.

It appears that the storm above described had injured also our first galley, which, being near the shore when the hurricane began, suffered so considerably that all the ship's company made their last confessions, and expected every minute to be their last. A severe gust of wind snapped off their foremast, and blew it overboard with the sail and rigging; and, as many of the ropes were fastened to the sheets, it caused the ship to lean so, that twice they saw their topmast dip under the waves. At the same time parts of the top-sides were broken, as well as the mainmast. The ship's company being unable any longer to control the sails, and finding themselves likely to perish, gave themselves up to the will of the waves, until God, in His good mercy, permitted them to reach this haven, where they repaired their disasters as best they could.

In the port of *St. John's* of Porto Rico, the general purchased twenty-four horses, and a ship to transport fifty men,

whom the King had commanded to be taken from this island. The very day we set sail, this ship sprung aleak, and the danger of foundering was so imminent, that, in order to save the men, it became necessary to lighten her by throwing overboard a large quantity of merchandise. Seeing that this produced but little effect, it became necessary also to throw over the horses. Twenty-three were either lost in this way or died during the voyage, so that but one arrived in Florida. The same day, the general sent a large ship to St. Domingo, with orders to take on board the four hundred men who, by his Majesty's orders, had been assembled there, and have them join us with all haste.

Before our fleet left Spain, three caravels had been sent out by his Majesty's directions, as dispatch-boats, each at a different time, to transmit to St. Domingo and to *Havana* his Majesty's orders in regard to what should be done on our arrival. The second of these caravels took with her a great many sealed dispatches concerning arrangements to be made, and a great many valuable objects. When she arrived off Mona Island, which forms already a part of St. Domingo, she was attacked and compelled to surrender to a French vessel—one of those who were in our neighborhood. The enemy boarded her, possessed themselves of all her papers, read the plans for the conquest of Florida, took off all the other things they saw fit to take, and then told the ship's company to go as fast as they could to St. Domingo to notify their countrymen, but that

they hoped to be there as soon as the caravel, and with this they left them.

On Friday, August 17, about four in the afternoon, we arrived in sight of St. Domingo. Our general, trusting to good luck and the mercy of God, instantly ordered the admiral's ship to proceed northward, and pass through a very dangerous channel, which no navigator had as yet explored. Although the admiral, as well as all of us, was very much distressed by this order, he could not do otherwise than obey the commanding general. At the time we entered the strait, the waves were so high and the swell so strong we thought we were about to perish, the danger being caused by the surge which we had to brave, and yet resist. The admiral told me to encourage the soldiers with some good prayers and exhortations, and they did become calm, although during the whole night we were exposed to this danger.

Saturday, the 18th, daylight having reappeared, we took courage; but as we were sailing along, well out at sea, we all at once saw breakers ahead. All the pilots hastened to throw their sounding-lines, and find out if it would do to proceed in the course our maneuver demanded. In some places they found four fathoms of water, and in others less. Two hours before nightfall we discovered a low desert island, named Aguana. Providence permitted us to come near these banks and this island by daylight, so that we could see and avoid their dangers, for, had we approached them by night, we must surely have perished. In considera-

tion of the great danger of our surroundings, and supposing that none of our pilots were familiar with those parts, we resolved to reef our sails, and not venture to proceed by night, lest we should be wrecked. Sunday morning, the 19th, at daybreak, the first ship which set sail was the flag-ship, on which I was, since the pilot on this ship knew his duty perfectly. The first galley joined us, and the general was spoken to and told that we were pursuing a bad course, but he only reiterated the orders to the captains and pilots to continue in the route which was laid out for them. All obeyed, although very unhappy about the frightful danger to which the constantly-appearing breakers exposed them. That day we perceived another low island, called Capuana, uninhabited, like the other, and surrounded by dangerous shoals and rocks. God permitted us to pass it by day, and thus avoid its perils. At nightfall the flag-ship and the first galley approached each other, and the general had a long interview with the admiral and his pilot, who explained to him the uncertainty of their being able to continue their voyage by this route. Persistently obstinate, however, the general directed the captain and pilot to navigate ahead of the first galley, to avoid the dangers of shallow waters.

During the following night all the ships, of which all the officers and crews were dissatisfied to be navigating in unknown waters, profited by the darkness to brail up their sails and fall behind the first galley, in order that they might shield themselves from danger, by keeping in her wake.

Monday, the 20th, found us all at anchor at break of day, for the galley, like the rest, fearful of the shallow waters, had cast anchor at midnight, and when it became quite light we beheld another low, flat island right ahead of us. After passing this place, navigation became easier, so far as shoals were concerned, for we met them less frequently, which was somewhat encouraging. Sunday morning, a boat from the galley came alongside of us with men to visit some of my friends. We learned from them that the (governor) general had made eight new captains, with their ensigns, sergeants, etc., besides the four who had accompanied us from Spain. Each company was to be composed of fifty men and a certain number of horsemen to scout the country. Every one was well pleased to learn this piece of news.

On the same day, about nine o'clock in the morning, the admiral approached the galley to salute, according to custom, when the general directed the captain to distribute arms to all the soldiers and hold them in readiness for action. Reflecting on the determination which he had shown in regard to the navigation, I felt sure that the general knew perfectly well what he was about, but did not wish to be communicative. Your Lordship will remember that when the fleet was in preparation in Spain, I went to see the captain-general at the harbor of *St. Mary*, and, as I told you, he showed me a letter from his Royal Highness PHILIP II., signed with his name. In this letter his Majesty told him that, on May 20, some ships had left France carrying

seven hundred men and two hundred women.* As I have stated, we learned at *St. John's* of *Porto Rico* that our dispatch-boat had been captured. This fact, joined to the reflection that our fleet was much injured by the storm, and that of the ten vessels which left *Cadiz* only four remained, besides the one bought at the last port to transport the horses and troops—all this made it evident to our captain-general, a man of arms, that the French would likely be waiting for him near the harbors, a little farther on ; that is, off *Monte Christi*, *Havana*, and the Cape of *Las Canas*, which lie on the same side, and precisely on our route to Florida. This was all the more to be expected since the French had come in possession of our plan to unite our forces at *Havana*. Not wishing, however, to encounter the French, having now lost our ships, and having but feeble means of defense, the general decided to take a northerly course, and pursue a new route, through the *Bahama Channel*, leaving the enemy to the windward. When I suggested this route to the admiral and the pilot, they said it was important and necessary to abandon the usual route, by way of *Havana*. Following this dangerous navigation, the Lord permitted the admiral to arrive safely in port on Sunday, the 20th of August. We saw two islands, called the Bahama Islands. The shoals which lie between them are so extensive that the

* This is a mistake ; there were but few families who accompanied this expedition of RIBAUT to Florida, of which MENENDEZ seemed to be well informed by the King of Spain before he sailed with orders from the King to hang and behead all Lutherans (Huguenots) whom he should find in Florida.

billows are felt far out at sea. The general gave orders to take soundings. The ship purchased at *Porto Rico* got aground that day in two and a half fathoms of water. At first, we feared she might stay there; but she soon got off and came to us. Our galley, one of the best ships afloat, found herself all day in the same position, when suddenly her keel struck three times violently against the bottom. The sailors gave themselves up for lost, and the water commenced to pour into her hold. But as we had a mission to fulfill for Jesus Christ and His blessed mother, two heavy waves, which struck her abaft, set her afloat again, and soon after we found her in deep water, and at midnight we entered the *Bahama Channel*.

CHAPTER III.



N Saturday, the 25th, the captain-general (MENENDEZ) came to visit our vessel and get the ordnance for disembarkment at Florida. This ordnance consisted of two rampart pieces, of two sorts of culverins, of very small caliber, powder and balls; and he also took two soldiers to take care of the pieces. Having armed his vessel, he stopped and made us an address, in which he instructed us what we had to do on arrival at the place where the French were anchored. I will not dwell on this subject, on which there was a good deal said for and against, although the opinion of the general finally prevailed. There were two thousand (hundred) Frenchmen in the seaport into which we were to force an entrance. I made some opposition to the plans, and begged the general to consider that he had the care of a thousand souls, for which he must give a good account. Then followed a fine address, which I shall not repeat here, as it would make my report too long. Please the Lord and the Blessed Virgin, I will, however, report it on my return.

On Monday, August 27, while we were near the entrance to the *Bahama Channel*, God showed to us a miracle from heaven. About nine o'clock in the evening, a comet appeared, which showed itself directly above us, a little eastward, giving so much light that it might have been taken for the sun. It went towards the west—that is, towards Florida, and its brightness lasted long enough to repeat two *Credos*. According to the sailors, this was a good omen.

On Tuesday, the 28th, we had a calm more dead than anything we had yet experienced while at sea. Our vessel was about one and a half leagues from the first galley and the other vessels. We were all tired, and especially I, from praying to God to give us weather which should put an end to all trials and disappointments. About two o'clock He had pity on us, and sent so good a wind, that we came under full sail to rejoin the galley. One thing happened which I regard as miraculous. While we were becalmed, and after we had joined the other vessels, none of the pilots knew where we were; some pretending we were as much as a hundred leagues from Florida. However, thanks to God and the prayers of the Blessed Virgin, we soon had the pleasure of seeing land. We steered in that direction, anchored near a point of land, and found ourselves actually in Florida,* and not very far distant from the enemy, which was for us an

* The Spanish fleet came in sight of land upon the same day, August 28 (called, in the calendar of the Roman Catholic Church, *St. Augustine*), that the French fleet, under RIBAUT, cast anchor at the mouth of the *May*, now called *St. John's* river, being within fifty miles of each other.

occasion of great joy. That very evening our general assembled the pilots on the galley to discuss what was to be done. Next day, the 29th, at daylight, the galley and all the other ships weighed anchor, and coasted along in search of the enemy or a harbor favorable for disembarking.

On Monday, the 30th of August, we were assailed by bad weather, which obliged us to anchor. For four days contrary winds continued to blow, or else it was so calm we could not move; during all of which time we remained at anchor, about a league and a half from the shore. The captain-general, seeing that neither the pilots nor the two Frenchmen, whom we had taken prisoners, and who belonged to the French colony, could give us any information in regard to the port; and the coast being so flat that we could only recognize a few objects, the general, under these circumstances, decided to send ashore fifty arquebusiers, with some captains. They built fires in order to excite the curiosity of the Indians, and attract them; but they were so stupid that they paid no attention to us, and none came to see us. Our people then decided to penetrate the interior; and after having gone four leagues, they arrived at a village of Indians, who kindly received them, gave them food in abundance, embraced them, and then asked them for some of their things, and the soldiers were generous enough to make them a number of presents. In return, the natives gave them two pieces of gold, of low standard, but it showed that they had some, and were in the habit of giving it in exchange. The Frenchmen whom we had with us told us

they had been in communication with them for a long time. The Indians wanted the soldiers to pass the night with them, in order that they might feast them; but the latter declined their offers, being anxious to report the good news to our captain-general. As soon as he had learned the news, he resolved to disembark on Saturday morning, September 1st, and go among these Indians. He took with him a quantity of linen, knives, mirrors, and other little things of that sort, to gain their good will, and get some information as to where the French were. One of the Frenchmen of whom I have spoken understood their language. They told us we had left the French about five leagues behind us; precisely at the same spot to which God had conducted us when we arrived in sight of land; but we could not then find them, because we had not sent any one ashore.

On Tuesday, the 4th, the fleet left the place of which I have been speaking, and we took a northerly course, keeping all the time close to the coast. On Wednesday, the 5th, two hours before sunset, we saw four French ships at the mouth of a river.* When we were two leagues from them, the first galley joined the rest of the fleet, which was composed of four other vessels. The general concerted a plan with the captains and pilots, and ordered the flag-ship, the

* The French expedition commanded by RIBAUT, consisting of seven sail and five hundred men and some families of artisans, arrived on the coast of Florida and entered the river *May* (*St. John's*) on the 29th August, 1565, four of which vessels were lying outside of the bar, disembarking the emigrants, when MENENDEZ arrived.

San Pelayo, and a *chaloupe* to attack the French flag-ship, the *Trinity*, while the first galley and another *chaloupe* would attack the French galley, both of which vessels were very large and powerful. All the ships of our fleet put themselves in good position; the troops were in the best of spirits, and full of confidence in the great talents of the captain-general. They followed the galley; but as our general is a very clever and artful officer, he did not fire, nor seek to make any attack on the enemy. He went straight to the French galley, and cast anchor about eight paces from her. The other vessels went to the windward, and very near the enemy. During the maneuvers, which lasted until about two hours after sunset, not a word was said on either side. Never in my life have I known such stillness. Our general inquired of the French galley, which was the vessel nearest his, "Whence does this fleet come?" They answered, "From France." "What are you doing here?" said the *Adelantado*. "This is the territory of King PHILIP II. I order you to leave directly; for I neither know who you are, nor what you want here." The French commander then replied, "I am bringing soldiers and supplies to the fort of the King of France." He then asked the name of the general of our fleet, and was told, "PEDRO MENENDEZ DE AVILES, Captain-General of the King of Spain, who have come to hang all Lutherans I find here."* Our general then asked him the name of his com-

* The following is the version of MENENDEZ in a MS. letter written to the King of Spain, Sept. 11, 1565: "I answered them, says MENENDEZ, who was

mander, and he replied, "Lord GASTO." While this parleying was going on, a long-boat was sent from the galley to the flag-ship. The person charged with this errand managed to do it so secretly, that we could not hear what was said; but we understood the reply of the French to be: "I am the admiral;" which made us think he wished to surrender, as they were in so small a force. Scarcely had the French made this reply, when they slipped their cables, spread their sails, and passed through our midst. Our admiral, seeing this, followed the French commander,* and called upon him to lower his sails, in the name of King PHILIP; to which he received an impertinent answer. Immediately our admiral gave an order to discharge a small culverin, the ball from which struck the vessel amidships, and I thought she was going to founder. We gave chase, and, some time after, he again called on them to lower their sails. "I would sooner die first than surrender!" replied the French commander. The order was given to fire a second shot, which carried off five or six men; but as these miserable devils are very good sailors, they maneuvered so well that we could not take one of them; and, notwithstanding all the guns we fired at them, we did not sink one of their ships. We only got possession

going by his Majesty's order to the coast of Florida to burn and destroy the Lutheran French who should be found there, and that in the morning I would board their ships to find out whether they belonged to that people, because, in case they did, I could not do otherwise than execute upon them that justice which your Majesty had ordered."—*Parkman's Pioneers of France in the New World.*

* RIBAUT had at this time gone to pay a visit to LAUDONNIERE, at Fort *Carolin*, on the river *May* (*St. John's*).

of one of their large boats, which was of great service to us afterwards. During the whole night, our flag-ship (the *San Pelayo*) and the galley chased the French flag-ship (*Trinity*) and galley.

Wednesday morning, September 5th, at sunrise, so great a storm arose that we feared we should be shipwrecked; and as our vessels were so small, we did not dare to remain on the open sea, and regained the shore; that is, three of our vessels anchored at about a league and a half from it. We had double moorings, but the wind was so strong that one of them broke loose. We prayed the Lord to spare the others, for we could not have prevented them from being driven on to the coast, and lost. As our galley was a large vessel, and busy following up the enemy, she could not come to our assistance; so we felt ourselves in danger of being attacked. The same evening, about sunset, we perceived a sail afar off, which we supposed was one of our galleys, and which was a great subject of rejoicing; but as the ship approached, we discovered it was the French flag-ship (*Trinity*),* which we had fired at the night before. At first, we thought she was going to attack us; but she did not dare to do it, and anchored between us and the shore, about a league from us. That night the pilots of our other ships came on board, to consult with the Admiral as to what

* Distrusting the intentions of the Spaniards, one of the French fleet put to sea, and sailed to the southward, and came to anchor opposite the river *Seloy*, called by the French "*Dolphin*," where they saw the Spaniards land their troops and provisions.

was to be done. The next morning, being fully persuaded that the storm had made a wreck of our galley, or that, at least, she had been driven a hundred leagues out to sea, we decided that so soon as daylight came we would weigh anchor, and withdraw in good order, to a river (*Scloy**) which was below the French colony, and there disembark, and construct a fort, which we would defend until assistance came to us.

* This was the first landing made by LAUDONNIERE, in 1564, which he named the river "*Dolphin*." The two arms of the river running to the north and south are the *North River* and the *Matanzas*. The old town of *St. Augustine* was built here; also the first Roman Catholic church and monastery on the Atlantic coast of North America. The bigoted PHILIP II. was proclaimed monarch of all North America. It is by more than forty years the oldest city in the United States—the first town in this country that sprung from the bigotry of the Spanish king. "Its origin," says BANCROFT, "should be carefully remembered, for it is a fixed point from which to measure the liberal influence of time, the progress of modern civilization, the victories of the American mind in its contests for the interests of humanity." The French government heard of the massacre of the French colony with apathy, which, if it had been protected, would have given to France a flourishing empire in the South before England had planted a single spot on the new continent.

CHAPTER IV.



ON Thursday, just as day appeared, we sailed towards the vessel at anchor, passed very close to her, and would certainly have captured her, when we saw another vessel appear on the open sea, which we thought was one of ours. At the same moment, however, we thought we recognized the French admiral's ship. We perceived the ship on the open sea; it was the French galley of which we had been in pursuit. Finding ourselves between these two vessels, we decided to direct our course towards the galley, for the sake of deceiving them and preventing them from attacking us, so as not to give them any time to wait. This bold maneuver having succeeded, we sought the river *Seloy* and port, of which I have spoken, where we had the good fortune to find our galley, and another vessel which had planned the same thing we had. Two companies of infantry now disembarked; that of Captain ANDRES SOYEZ PATINO, and that of Captain JUAN DE SAN VINCENTE, who is a very distinguished gentleman. They were well received by the Indians, who gave

them a large house belonging to a chief, and situated near the shore of the river. Immediately Captain PATINO and Captain SAN VINCENTE, both men of talent and energy, ordered an intrenchment to be built around this house, with a slope of earth and fascines, these being the only means of defense possible in that country, where stones are nowhere

NARRATIVE

OF

DON SOLIS DE LAS MERAS, brother-in-law of DON PEDRO MENENDEZ DE AVILES, Adelantado of Florida, translated from BARCIA, "*Ensayo chronologico para la Historia General de la Florida*," Madrid, 1723.



IN his arrival in Florida, DON PEDRO MENENDEZ DE AVILES, Adelantado of Florida, devoted himself to the fortifying of *St. Augustine* with a fort, as best he could to defend himself from an attack of the French fleet, commanded by Captain RIBAUT, Viceroy of the King of France, should an attempt be made to land a colony in Florida. A few days after the Adelantado arrived, some Indians came to him at *St. Augustine*, to inform him that there were a great many Christians four leagues distant, who could not pass the river or arm of the sea (supposed by recent surveys to be *Matanzas* inlet), whereupon he took with him forty men in boats, to reconnoiter the country, and arrived on the bank of the river after midnight, where he halted until morning; and after hiding his soldiers among the bushes and trees, he surveyed the country from the top of a tree, and saw many people on the opposite side of the river with banners flying; and, thinking how he should prevent them from crossing over, he drew so near to them that he could count them. Presently he saw a Frenchman swimming over the river, and, as he approached the Adelantado, he called out that the people on the other side were Frenchmen who had been shipwrecked in a hurricane. The Adelantado asked him how many were on the opposite side? He replied, About two hundred followers of Captain RIBAUT, Viceroy and Captain-General of Florida for the King of France (Charles IX.).

He again asked him, are they Roman Catholics or Lutherans? He replied,

to be found. Up to to-day we have disembarked twenty-four pieces of bronze guns of different calibers, of which the least weighed fifteen hundredweight. *Our fort is at a distance of about fifteen leagues from that of the enemy (Fort Carolin). The energy and talents of those two brave captains, joined to the efforts of their brave soldiers, who had no tools*

"They are all Lutherans," of which the Adelantado had been previously informed by the women and children whom he had recently captured at Fort *Carolin* (afterwards called by MENENDEZ Fort *Matteo*, because it was captured on St. Matthew's Day, September 15, 1665), together with six cases of Lutheran books, which were afterwards burned. He again asked him what he came across the river for. He said Captain RIBAUT sent him to find out who were the people he saw. The Adelantado then inquired if he wished to return to his people. He answered, yes. You may then go back and report to Captain RIBAUT that "I am Captain-General for PHILIP II., King of Spain, and came to find out what your people are doing here." The Frenchman went back the same day with the message to Captain RIBAUT, who sent him back, asking an interview for himself and four officers, and requesting that a boat might be sent for them, which the Adelantado granted, and guaranteed on his honor that they should not be molested going or coming, and at the same time ordered a boat to be sent for them. On the boat returning, they were cordially received by the Adelantado and his men, who were afterwards ordered to retire at some distance to the rear, and scatter themselves among the bushes, so as not to be seen by the French. One of these Frenchmen said that he was a captain, and that four galleons had been lost in the recent storm, together with several smaller vessels belonging to the King of France; and some of the people who had escaped wished to be assisted with boats, to take them to a fort, twenty leagues distant. (This was Fort *Carolin*, which the Adelantado had captured some days before from the French.) The Adelantado then asked him, Are they Catholics or Lutherans? He replied, We are all Lutherans. He then said: Gentlemen, your fort has been taken, and all the people in it put to death except the women, and children under fifteen years of age; and if you wish to be certain of it, there are some soldiers here who can tell you all about the capture. I have two French soldiers, Roman Catholics, who were captured at the fort; and will send for them if you will take a seat here, and you can question

with which to work the earth, accomplished the construction of this fortress of defense; and when the general disembarked, he was quite surprised with what had been done.

On Saturday, the 8th, the general landed with many banners spread, to the sound of trumpets and salutes of artillery. As I had gone ashore the evening before, I took a cross and went to meet him, singing the hymn *Te Deum*

them. They replied, We are satisfied with your statement, and begged as a favor that he would give them some ships to take them back to France. The Adelantado said that he had no ships to spare, but he would do so willingly, and if he had some to spare, if they were Catholics; that he had recently sent one to Fort *San Matteo* (Fort Carolin), to bring the artillery; one to St. Domingo, with the women and children he had captured; and one with dispatches to Spain. The Frenchmen then begged the Adelantado to let his people remain with him until he could furnish them with ships and provisions to take them back to France, as there was then no war between the two nations, and the Kings of France and Spain were friends and brothers. The Adelantado replied that this was true, but that, as they were Lutherans, he looked upon them as enemies, and would wage war against them with fire and sword, whether on sea or land, for the King; "as I have come here to establish the Holy Roman Catholic faith in Florida. But if you will surrender yourselves and arms, and trust to my mercy, you may do so, and I will act towards you as God may prompt me; otherwise, do as you please, for I will not make any truces or treaties with you."

One of the Frenchmen then said he would first go back to consult with his people what was best to be done, and that within two hours he would return with an answer. The Adelantado then said you can do as you please, and I will remain here until your return. In two hours he returned, and said there were many noblemen among them, who would give him fifty thousand ducats, if he would spare their lives. He replied, I am a poor man, but I would not be guilty of such a weakness, nor do I wish to be thought avaricious, and when I wish to be liberal and merciful, it must be without reward; nor will I offer any other terms. Thereupon the Frenchman returned to his people; and in less than an hour after he came back, and said to the Adelantado "that all the Frenchmen would trust to his mercy and surrender on his terms," and

laudamus. The general marched up to the cross, followed by all who accompanied him, and there they all kneeled and embraced the cross. A large number of Indians watched these proceedings and imitated all they saw done. The same day the general took formal *possession of the country in the name of his Majesty, and all the captains took the oath of allegiance to him, as their general and governor of the country.*

brought back in his boat all their flags, arquebuses, pistols, swords, bucklers, helmets, and breast-plates.

The Adelantado then ordered twenty soldiers into the boats, to bring over the river ten at a time, and not to treat them ill; he then withdrew from the banks of the river to some bushes behind the sand-hills, where he could not be seen from the boat that was to bring them over, and when they landed, he said to the French captain and other Frenchmen with him, "Gentlemen, I have but few men, and they are not well known to me, and as you are many, and are at liberty, it will be easy for you to revenge yourself upon me for the people I have put to death, when we took your fort; it is therefore necessary that you should march with your hands tied behind your backs four leagues, where I have my camp; to which they consented, and as they crossed over the Spaniards tied their hands behind their backs, and marched them off in squads of ten until they amounted to two hundred and eight Frenchmen; when the Adelantado asked if there were any Roman Catholics among them. Eight of them said they were Roman Catholics, and he had them put into a boat and sent to *St. Augustine*, but the remainder, who were Lutherans, he ordered, after giving them something to eat, to be marched to *St. Augustine* to be put to death. A few days after the Adelantado returned to *St. Augustine*, the same Indians came to inform him that more Christians had arrived on the same side of the river where they found the others. He then began to surmise that they must be Captain RIBAUT's party, whom they called the French King's Viceroy of Florida; and MENENDEZ set out with one hundred and fifty soldiers well equipped, and halted at the same place as before. He scattered his soldiers along the river bank, and behind the sand-hills and bushes; and, as day dawned he saw a crowd of men with a lighter for the purpose of carrying over the men to the other side of the river. But on seeing the Spaniards, they sounded their drums and trumpets, and unfurled the Royal Standard, together with two cam-

When this ceremony was ended, he offered to do everything in his power for them, especially for Captain PATINO, who during the whole voyage had ardently served the cause of God and of the King; and, I think, will be rewarded for his assiduity and talents in constructing a fort in which to defend ourselves until the arrival of help from *St. Domingo*

paign flags, and, upon playing their fifes and drums, showed battle to the Spaniards. The Adelantado ordered his men to sit down, and take their breakfast, whilst he walked up and down the shore with his admiral and two other captains, taking no notice of the French. Afterwards the French hoisted a white flag, to which the Adelantado replied, and sounded his bugle, which he always carried with him, and, taking a white handkerchief, he waved it in sign of peace.

A Frenchman then entered a canoe and called out to the Spaniards to cross over, but he was answered that he must come where the Adelantado was. He replied that it was difficult to cross over the river, as the current was strong. A French sailor then swam across the river, and spoke to the Adelantado, who ordered him back to inform Captain RIBAUT that, if he wished anything, he must write to him. The sailor returned, and shortly after brought back with him an officer with a message from Captain RIBAUT, Viceroy of the King of France, that his fleet had been wrecked in a storm at sea, and that he had with him about three hundred and fifty men, who were marching to the French fort (*Carolin*), about twenty leagues distant, with a request to furnish him with two boats to cross the river. The Adelantado sent him back a message that he had captured the French forts on the river *May*, and put all the garrison to death. The officer, making no demonstration of sorrow at what he said, asked the privilege of sending back one of the gentlemen with him to Captain RIBAUT, so as to treat for a surrender with a guarantee of safe return. The French gentleman departed immediately with this message, and returned within an hour with the message from Captain RIBAUT to the Adelantado, accepting his guarantee of safety. He then crossed over with eight gentlemen, whom the Adelantado received cordially, for they were all distinguished persons, and he offered them refreshments with wine and preserves. Captain RIBAUT said that he was grateful for so kind a reception, but their hearts were so sorrowful on account of hearing of the death of their companions, that they could not partake of their hospitality, except to take some wine and preserves. He then said

and *Havana*. The French number about as many as we do, and perhaps more. My advice to the general was not to attack the enemy, but to let the troops rest all winter and wait for the assistance daily expected; and then we may hope to make a successful attack.

God and the holy Virgin have performed another great

to the Adelantado that he might some day find himself in the same situation that he was, and hoped that he would treat with him in a friendly and magnanimous spirit, and furnish him with ships and provisions to return to France, and urged upon the Adelantado the reasonableness of this request. He replied that he would not change his mind. Captain RIBAUT then passed to the other side of the river to consult with his people, among whom were many noblemen. After several hours elapsed, he returned, and said to the Adelantado his people were of different opinions about the terms of surrender, but that one-half would surrender, on the terms of his being merciful, and pay a ransom of one hundred thousand ducats; and the other half would pay still more. The Adelantado replied that, as much as it grieved him that such a large ransom was offered, which he stood in need of to effect a settlement in Florida, and establish the Holy Catholic religion there, which had been intrusted to him by the King of Spain, still he must refuse their offer. Captain RIBAUT then, as night was advancing, returned once more to consult with his people, and in the morning he returned among the Spaniards, and delivered to the Adelantado two Royal Standards of the King of France, and the banners of the companies; also a sword, dagger, pistol, gilt helmet, and a seal which Admiral COLIGNY, of France, had given him to seal dispatches, and writs which might be issued. At the same time, he said that, out of three hundred and fifty persons, one hundred and fifty only were willing to surrender on the terms of being mercifully treated, and the remainder departed that night in another direction. Thereupon, the Adelantado ordered Captain DIEGO FLORES DE VALDEZ, Admiral of the fleet, to bring them over in boats, ten at a time, and distribute them among the bushes behind the sand-hills, with their hands tied behind their backs, and afterwards marched them four leagues by land at night, taking with them Captain RIBAUT and his officers, with their hands tied behind their backs. Before they set out for *St. Augustine*, the Adelantado asked Captain RIBAUT if they were Lutherans or Roman Catholics, and he replied they were Lutherans, and commenced

miracle in our favor. The day after our general came into the fort, he told us he was very much annoyed that his galley and another vessel were anchored about a league out at sea, and were not able to enter the harbor on account of the sandbanks. He felt uneasy, and feared the French would capture or ill-treat them. As soon as this idea took posses-

to sing a psalm, "*Domine memento mei*," and, after they finished it, he remarked that "they were made of earth, and to earth they must return, and that twenty years, more or less, were of no consequence." Then the Adelantado ordered all of them to be put to death, except the fifers, drummers, trumpeters, and four others who were Catholics, making in all sixteen persons; and the same night the Adelantado returned to *St. Augustine*, where some taunted him with being cruel, and others that he had done right, as they would have died from starvation by reason of the scarcity of provisions at the fort; or the French, being more numerous, would have put the Spaniards to death for their cruelty.

[Thus ended the efforts of the French to establish a colony on the southern coast of North America. The lily of France was trampled in the dust, and the flag of Spain waved over *St. Augustine*, *San Mateo*, and *San Lucia*. The destruction of the Huguenots excited the utmost gratification at the Court of Spain, and the conduct of MENENDEZ was approved and commended by the bigoted PHILIP II., and drew forth a letter of gratulation from Pope PIUS V.]

TRANSLATION OF A LETTER

FROM

POPE PIUS V. TO ADELANTADO PEDRO MENENDEZ DE AVILES.



TO our beloved son and nobleman, PEDRO MENENDEZ DE AVILES, Viceroy in the Province of Florida, in the Indies:—Beloved son and nobleman, grace and benediction of our Lord be with you. Amen.

"We greatly rejoice that our much-beloved, dear son in Christ, PHILIP II., the Most Catholic King, had appointed and honored you by the government of

sion of him, he left with about fifty men, to go on board another galley. He gave the order for three of the ship's boats, which were anchored in the river, to go and get the food and troops from on board the galley. The next day our ship went to sea loaded with provisions, and one hundred men besides, and, when about half a league from the bar, it became so becalmed that it could not advance at all ;

Florida, making you Adelantado of the country ; for we had received such accounts of your person, and the excellencies of your virtues, your worth, and dignity were so satisfactorily spoken of, that we believed, without doubt, that you would not only fulfill faithfully, and with care and diligence, the orders and instructions which had been delivered to you by so Catholic a King, but we also fully trusted that you would, with discretion, do all that was requisite, and see carried forward the extension of our Holy Catholic faith, and the gaining of souls for God. I would that you should well understand that the Indians shall be governed in good faith and prudently, that those who may be weak in the faith, being newly converted, be strengthened and confirmed, and the idolaters may be converted and receive the faith of Christ ; that the first may praise God, knowing the benefits of His divine mercy, and the others, who are yet infidels, by the example and imitation of those who are already freed from blindness, may be led to the knowledge of the faith.

" But there is one thing more important for the conversion of the Indian idolaters which is, to endeavor, by every means, that they shall not be scandalized by the vices and bad habits of those who pass from our western shores to those parts. This is the key of this holy enterprise, in which are included all things requisite. Well understand, most noble man, that I declare to you that a great opportunity is offered to you in the carrying-out and management of these matters, which shall redound, on the one hand, to the service of God, and, on the other, to the increase of the dignity of your King, esteemed of men as well as loved and rewarded by God.

" Wherefore, we give you our paternal and Apostolical benediction. We seek and charge you to give entire faith to our brother, the Archbishop of *Rossini*, who, in our name, will signify our wishes in more ample words.

" Given in *Rome*, at St. Peter's, with the ring of the Fisherman, the first of August, 1569, the third year of our Pontificate."

so they cast anchor, and passed the night in that place. The next morning, as the tide rose, they weighed anchor, and, as daylight advanced, they found themselves astern of two French vessels that had been watching them. The enemy prepared immediately to attack us, but when our people recognized the French, they addressed a prayer to Our Lady of Utrera, begging for her to send a little wind, for the French were already quite close upon us. One would have said that the spirit of Our Lady immediately descended upon our ship, for the wind freshened, blowing directly towards the channel, so that our galley could take refuge. The French soon followed us, but as the water is very shallow on the bar, their large ships could not pass over, and our people and provisions got safely into port. Under these circumstances, God granted us two great favors. The first was that on the same evening, after we had landed our troops and provisions, the two vessels sailed away at midnight without being seen by the enemy. One went to Spain, and the other to *Havana*, so that neither was captured. The second favor, and that by which God rendered us a still greater service, happened the next day. A great hurricane came up, and was so severe that, I think, almost all of the French vessels must have been lost, for they were assailed on the most dangerous part of the coast. Our general was very bold in all military matters, and a great enemy of the French. He immediately assembled his captains and planned an expedition to attack the French settlement and fort on the

river with five hundred men, and, in spite of the opinion of a majority of them, and of my judgment and of another priest, he ordered his plan to be carried out. Accordingly, on Monday, September 17, he set out with five hundred men, well provided with fire-arms and pikes, each soldier carrying with him a sack of bread and supply of wine for the journey. They also took with them two Indian chiefs, who were the implacable enemies of the French, to serve as guides.

In a letter received from the captain-general to-day, the 19th, he wrote me "that the very shallowest of the streams which they forded reached up to the knees; that he has passed through very dense forests, and to-morrow, the 20th (Thursday), he hoped to attack the enemy's fort at day-break." His courage and great zeal make me hope that he will succeed; but he ought to have been a little less eager to carry out his projects, which would really have more advanced the service of his Majesty. Since the departure of the troops, we have suffered the worst weather and the most horrible tempests that I ever saw. May his Divine Majesty be with and protect us, for Heaven knows we have need of it. Yesterday evening, Wednesday, the 19th, we sent from the fort twenty men laden with provisions—bread, wine, and cheese—but the rain has fallen in such abundance that I am not sure they have been able to join the general and his army. I hope God, however, will do all he can for us, which will enable us to propagate his religion, and destroy the heretics.

CHAPTER V.



HIS morning, Saturday, the 22d, just after I had finished the mass of Our Lady, the admiral, at our request, sent some soldiers to fish, that we priests might have something to eat, it being a fast-day. Just as they had arrived at the place for fishing, and were going to throw out their nets, they perceived a man advancing towards them. He unfurled a white flag, which is a sign of peace, when our men surrounded and captured him. He proved to be a Frenchman, one of our enemies, so they made him a prisoner, and brought him to our admiral. The man, thinking we were going to hang him, shed tears and appeared to be in great distress. I asked him if he were a Catholic, and he told me he was, and recited some prayers; so I consoled him, and told him not to fear anything, but to answer all questions put to him with frankness, which he promised me to do. He said there were about seven hundred men in the fort (*Carolin*, on the river *May*), of which one-third were Lutherans, and two priests, who preached the Lutheran doc-

trines, and in camp, eight or ten Spaniards; three of whom were found among the Indians, quite naked, and painted like the natives, who had been wrecked on the coast, and as no vessel had come into the country for a long time, they had remained with the Indians, some of whom had joined the French, whose fleet had arrived twenty days before.

On Monday, September 24th, about nine o'clock in the morning, the admiral came into port with his frigate, and as soon as I recognized him, I had the bells rung and great rejoicings made in the camp.

An hour after he arrived, we saw a man approaching with loud cries. I was the first to run to him and get the news. He embraced me with transport, crying: "Victory! victory! the French fort (*Carolin*) is ours!" I promised him the gift due to the bearer of good news, and have given him the best I was able to give. I have related how our brave general was determined, in spite of the opinions of many of his officers, to attack the French by land with five hundred men; but as the enterprise we are engaged in is for the cause of Jesus Christ and His Blessed Mother, the Holy Spirit has enlightened the understanding of our chief, so that everything has turned to our advantage, and resulted in a great victory. He has shown an ability and an energy unequaled by any prince in the world. He has been willing to sacrifice himself, and has been sustained by his captains and his soldiers, whom he has encouraged by his valor and his words more than by any distribution of rewards

or other inducements, so that every soldier has fought like a Roman.

I have previously stated that our brave captain-general set out on the 17th of September with five hundred arquebusiers and pikemen, under the guidance of two Indian chiefs, who showed them the route to the enemy's fort. They marched the whole distance until Tuesday evening, the 18th of September, 1565, when they arrived within a quarter of a league of the enemy's fort (*Carolin*), where they remained all night up to their waists in water. When daylight came, Captains LOPEZ, PATINO, and MARTIN OCHOA had already been to examine the fort, but when they went to attack the fort a greater part of the soldiers were so confused they scarcely knew what they were about.

On Thursday morning, our good captain-general, accompanied by his son-in-law, Don PEDRO DE VALDES and Captain PATINO, went to inspect the fort. He showed so much vivacity that he did not seem to have suffered by any of the hardships to which he had been exposed, and seeing him march off so brisk, the others took courage, and without exception followed his example. It appears the enemy did not perceive their approach until the very moment of the attack, as it was very early in the morning and had rained in torrents. The greater part of the soldiers of the fort were still in bed. Some arose in their shirts, and others, quite naked, begged for quarters; but, in spite of that, more than one hundred and forty were killed. A great Lutheran cosmographer and magician was found among the

dead. The rest, numbering about three hundred, scaled the walls, and either took refuge in the forest or on their ships floating in the river, laden with treasures; so that in an hour's time the fort was in our possession, without our having lost a single man, or even had one wounded. There were six vessels on the river at the time. They took one brig, and an unfinished galley and another vessel, which had been just discharged of a load of rich merchandise, and sunk. These vessels were placed at the entrance to the bar to blockade the harbor, as they expected we would come by sea. Another, laden with wine and merchandise, was near the port. She refused to surrender, and spread her sails, when they fired on her from the fort, and sunk her in a spot where neither the vessel nor cargo will be lost. The taking of this fort * gained us many valu-

* MENENDEZ now changed the name of Fort *Carolin* to *San Mateo*, in honor of the apostle whose festival occurred on the day subsequent to its capture. He also changed the name of the river *May* to *San Mateo*. He garrisoned the fort with three hundred men, and left it under the command of Don GONZALES DE VILLAREAL. Subsequently he undertook a voyage to the north, along the coast of Georgia and South Carolina, and is supposed to have sailed as far north as *Chesapeake Bay*. The points especially mentioned by him are *Guale*, *Avistas*, and *St. Helena*, where he built a fort, planted a cross, and took possession of the country in the name of his sovereign, and afterwards set out on an expedition to South Florida, and visited the Indian tribes of the southern provinces.

The earliest and most energetic explorers of the New and much of the Old World have been pious priests of the Roman Catholic religion. While others sought for gold, they labored for souls among the natives, and, with the same zeal that distinguished them everywhere else, did they labor in the unfruitful vineyard of Florida. The earliest explorers, DE LEON, NARVAEZ, DE SOTO, and MENENDEZ, took with them zealous and learned priests, to whom we are indebted for what we know of the Indian languages of North and South

able objects, namely, two hundred pikes, a hundred and twenty helmets, a quantity of arquebuses and shields, a quantity of clothing, linen, fine cloths, two hundred tons of flour, a good many barrels of biscuit, two hundred bushels of wheat, three horses, four asses, and two she-asses, hogs,

America, and it was not until the expedition of MENENDEZ that the Christian religion took deep root in Florida.

In 1567, he sent the two learned missionaries ROGEL and VILLAREAL to the *Caloosas*; and in the following year ten other missionaries arrived. The majority worked with small profit in the southern provinces, but Padre SEDENO settled in the island of *Gualc*, sometimes called *St. Mary's*, now *Amelia Island* (Georgia), and was the first to draw up a grammar and catechism of any original tongue north of Mexico. At this period the Spanish settlements consisted of three colonies: *St. Augustine*, built south of where it now stands on *St. Nicholas Creek*; *San Mateo*, on the *St. John's* river; and *San Felipe*, in the province of Orista or *St. Helena*, now South Carolina.

In addition to these, were two missionary stations at *Carlos* and *Tocobajo*, on the western coast; one at its southern extremity, *Tegesta*; one in the province of *Ais* or *St. Lucia*; and a fifth, founded by Father PARDO, one hundred and fifty leagues inland, at *Aixacan*, at the foot of the mountains (Georgia).

In 1592, twelve Franciscans were sent to Florida, and in less than two years twenty mission houses were established. In addition, in 1612, thirty-two Franciscans were sent out under GERONIMO DE ORE, by PHILIP III., and so great was the success that the captain-general petitioned the King to erect the colony into a bishopric.

The colony of *Pensacola*, or *Santa Maria de Galve*, on the west, and *St. Augustine*, *San Mateo*, *Santa Cruce*, and *San Marco*, and others, were described as scrupulous in their observance of the rites of the Catholic religion. The Franciscans built school-houses, and gave instruction to the children of the natives. But at the close of the seventeenth century, the Indian tribes and English of the North drove out the colonists, broke up and demolished the work of the holy fathers of two centuries, which accounts for the remains of churches, convents, and stately edifices now to be seen along the old Spanish highways, from *St. Augustine* to *Pensacola*. (See Brinton's *Floridian Peninsula: First Series French's Historical Collections of Louisiana*, vols. 3 and 6, pp. 20-36.)

tallow, books, furnace, flour-mill, and many other things of little value. But the greatest advantage of this victory is certainly the triumph which our Lord has granted us, and which will be the means of the holy Gospel being introduced into this country, a thing necessary to prevent the loss of many souls.

On Monday, the 24th September, 1565, at the vesper hour, our captain-general arrived with fifty foot-soldiers. He was very tired, as well as those who accompanied him. As soon as I learned that he was coming, I ran to my room, put on a new cassock, the best I possessed, and a surplice; and, taking a crucifix in my hand, I went a certain distance to receive him before he arrived in port; and he, like a gentleman and a Christian, knelt, as well as all those who came with him, and returned a thousand thanks for the great favors he had received from God. My companions and I walked ahead in a procession, singing the *Te Deum laudamus*, so that our meeting was one of the greatest joy. Our general's zeal for Christianity is so great that all his troubles are but repose for his mind. I am sure that no merely human strength could have supported all that he has suffered, but the ardent desire which he has to serve our Lord in destroying the Lutheran heretics, the enemies of our holy Catholic religion, causes him to be less sensible of the ills he endured.

On Friday, the 28th September, and while the captain-general was asleep, resting after all the fatigues he had passed through, some Indians came to the camp, and

made us understand, by signs, that on the coast towards the south there was a French vessel which had been wrecked. Immediately our general directed the admiral to arm a boat, take fifty men, and go down the river to the sea, to find out what was the matter. About two o'clock, the captain-general sent for me, and as he is very earnest, especially about this expedition, he said, "MENDOZA, it seems to me I have not done right in separating myself from those troops." I answered, "Your Lordship has done perfectly right; and if you wanted to undertake a new course, I and your other servants would oppose it, and shield you from the personal dangers to which you would be exposed." And, notwithstanding I sought to gain him over by such speeches, he would not abandon his project; but told me, in a decided tone, that he wished to set out, and that he commanded me and the captains who remained at the port to accompany him. He said there should be in all twelve men to go in the boat, and two of them Indians, who would serve as guides. We set off immediately to descend the river to the sea, in search of the enemy; and to get there, we had to march more than two leagues through plains covered with brush, often up to our knees in water, our brave general always leading the march. When we had reached the sea, we went about three leagues along the coast in search of our comrades. It was about ten o'clock at night when we met them, and there was a mutual rejoicing at having found each other. Not far off, we saw the camp fires of our enemies, and our

general ordered two of our soldiers to go and reconnoiter them, concealing themselves in the bushes, and to observe well the ground where they were encamped, so as to know what could be done. About two o'clock the men returned, saying that the enemy was on the other side of the river, and that we could not get at them. Immediately the general ordered two soldiers and four sailors to return to where we had left the boats, and bring them down the river, so that we might pass over to where the enemy was; then he marched his troops forward to the river, and we arrived before daylight. We concealed ourselves in a hollow between the sand-hills, with the Indians who were with us; and when it became light, we saw a great many of the enemy go down to the river to get shell-fish for food. Soon after, we saw a flag hoisted, as a war-signal. Our general, who was observing all that, enlightened by the Holy Spirit, said to us, "I intend to change these clothes for those of a sailor, and take a Frenchman with me (one of those whom we had brought with us from Spain), and we will go and talk with these Frenchmen. Perhaps they are without supplies, and would be glad to surrender without fighting." He had scarcely finished speaking, before he put his plan into execution. As soon as he had called to them, one of them swam towards and spoke to him; told him of their having been shipwrecked, and the distress they were in; that they had not eaten bread for eight or ten days; and, what is more, stated that all, or at least the greater part of them, were Lutherans. Immediately the general sent him

back to his countrymen, to say they must surrender, and give up their arms, or he would put them all to death. A French gentleman, who was a sergeant, brought back the reply that they would surrender, on condition their lives should be spared. After having parleyed a long time, our brave captain-general answered, "*that he would make no promises; that they must surrender unconditionally, and lay down their arms; because if he spared their lives, he wanted them to be grateful for it; and if they were put to death, that there should be no cause for complaint.*" Seeing that there was nothing else left for them to do, the sergeant returned to the camp; and soon after he brought all their arms and flags, and gave them up to the general, and surrendered unconditionally. Finding they were all Lutherans, the captain-general ordered them all to be put to death; but as I was a priest, and had bowels of mercy, I begged him to grant me the favor of sparing those whom we might find to be Christians. He granted it; and I made investigations, and found ten or twelve of the men Roman Catholics, whom we brought back. All the others were executed, because they were Lutherans and enemies of our Holy Catholic faith. All this took place on Saturday (St. Michael's Day), September 29, 1565.

I, FRANCISCO LOPEZ DE MENDOZA GRAJALES, Chaplain of His Lordship, certify that the foregoing is a statement of what actually happened.

FRANCISCO LOPEZ DE MENDOZA GRAJALES.

Memoir
OF
HERNANDO D'ESCALANTE FONTANEDO,*
ON THE COUNTRY AND ANCIENT INDIAN
TRIBES OF
FLORIDA.

TRANSLATED FROM TERNAUX COMPAN'S FRENCH TRANSLATION FROM THE
ORIGINAL MEMOIR IN SPANISH.

CHAPTER I.

MONSEIGNEUR :



HAVE the honor to inform you that Florida and the Lucayan Islands are situate on one side of the Bahama (old) Channel, which passes between *Havanna* (Cuba) and Florida. But nearer the mainland, extending from east to west, lie other islands, called the Martyrs (Los Martires), on account of the great number of men who have been put to

* The writer of this memoir was born in *Carthagera*, in 1538, and was shipwrecked and captured off the coast of Florida by the Indians. He was spared and brought up among them, and learned to speak four Indian languages, and calls attention to what has since been termed their "polysynthetic" structure. He afterwards returned to Spain, and accompanied the expedition of Don PEDRO MENENDEZ to Florida, in 1565, as interpreter. "This memoir," says BRINTON, "is particularly valuable in locating the ancient Indian tribes of Florida, and was written after the death of MENENDEZ."

death there ; and on the rocks of the coast, where a great many have been shipwrecked. These islands are inhabited by a tall race of men and women graceful and well-featured. There are two Indian villages on these islands, one of which is called *Guaragunve* or the Village of Tears (*Pueblo de Llante*) ; and the other, smaller in size, *Cuchiyaga*, which sig-

NARRATIVE

OF

The voyage made by GUIDO DE LAS BAZARES, to discover ports and bays on the coast of Florida, for the safety of the troops to be sent there, in the name of his Majesty, PHILIP II., King of Spain, under the orders of Don LUIS DE VELASCO, Viceroy of Mexico, 1558.



It was about four or five months ago that Don LUIS DE VELASCO, Viceroy of Mexico, ordered, in the name of his Majesty, PHILIP II., King of Spain, GUIDO DE LAS BAZARES to proceed with the marines and other persons to explore the coasts and harbors of Florida, for the greater safety of all persons who should go there, in the name of his Majesty, to colonize Florida. He was accordingly commissioned, and ordered to set sail from the port of *San-Juan-de-Lua*, New Spain, on the 3d of September, 1558, to explore the coast of Florida, with a large bark, galley, and shallop, manned with sixty seamen and soldiers. On the 10th of September, he arrived at *Panuco*, and from thence he departed, and arrived on the coast of Florida, in $27\frac{1}{2}$ degrees of north latitude. Continuing along the coast, he discovered a bay in $28\frac{1}{2}$ degrees north latitude, which he named *San Francisco*, and took possession of it in the name of his Majesty, and from thence to the *Alacranes*, the coast of which extends from north-west to south-east ; but contrary winds having prevented him from approaching the coast where he desired, he landed in $29\frac{1}{2}$ degrees of north latitude, and discovered an island, which was, perhaps, four leagues from the mainland ; he passed within this island [supposed to be *Dauphin*, Bay of *Mobile*] and the mainland, and other islands, and after having explored all the coast, he observed that it was bordered by marshy grounds, and was not in a favorable situation to begin a colony, as it was liable

nifies the place where martyrdom has been suffered. These Indians possess neither gold nor silver, and still less clothing, for they go almost naked, wearing only a sort of apron. The dress of the men consists of braided palm-leaves, and that of the women of moss, which grows on trees, and somewhat resembles wool. Their common food consists of fish,

to be submerged in many places ; nevertheless, he took possession of the country in the name of his Majesty, and gave it the name of Bay of *Bas-Fonde*. From thence he sailed ten leagues further to the east, where he discovered a bay which he named *Filipina*,* it being the largest and most commodious bay on the coast. The entrance is in $30\frac{1}{2}$ degrees ; and on entering the bay, he passed the point of an island [now called *Santa Rosa*] seven leagues long, and steered E. S. E. On the other side of the bay lies the mainland, which is, perhaps, half a league wide from point to point. Of all the discoveries made from east to west, there is no bay so accessible and commodious as this. The bottom is of mud, and the harbor is from four to five fathoms deep at low tide. The channel is three to four fathoms deep, and at high water near one fathom more. The climate is very healthy, and similar to that of Spain. It abounds in all kinds of fish and oysters. The pine forests are extensive, and can be used for ship-building. There are, besides, live oak, cypress, ash, palmetto, laurel, cedar, and other trees, one of which yields a fruit resembling the chestnut. All of these trees commence to grow near the shore, and extend for many leagues into the interior of the country.

Small rivulets of water fall into the bay, where there is a large opening which appears to be the mouth of a great river. While in this bay, he went to examine the water on the north side, where the trees are not so dense, and where cavaliers might hold their tournaments, and find grass for their horses. In the rear of this bay, in an easterly direction, are high hills of a reddish clay, from which earthenware can be manufactured. Here can at all times be seen

* The present Bay of *Pensacola*, sometimes called by the Indian name, *Ochuse* (*Hock' Ushi*, Choctaw), or *Uchuse* by Spanish navigators in the sixteenth century. It was discovered by MALDONADO, one of DE SOTO's officers ; and is about eleven miles from the *Gulf of Mexico*.

turtles, snails, tunny-fish, and whales, which they catch in their seasons. Some of them also eat the wolf-fish, but this is not a common thing, owing to certain distinctions which they make between proper food for the chiefs and that of their subjects. On these islands is found a shell-fish known as the *langosta*, a sort of lobster, and another known in

a great variety of wild game, such as eagles, turkeys, geese, ducks, partridges, doves, etc. On the shores of this bay, he observed a large number of canoes which the Indians use when they go to fish and hunt game, as well as Indian huts, surrounded with maize, beans, and pumpkins. He took possession of this country in the name of his Majesty, which is distant about two hundred and sixty leagues from the port of *San-Juan-de-Lua* [Vera Cruz].

Contrary winds now prevented him from advancing any farther, although he returned twice to the bay of *Filipina*, which he afterwards named *Velasco*. As the winter was now approaching, the pilots and sailors were of the opinion the weather would not be favorable for further explorations of the coast, and he deemed it advisable to return to New Spain to report the discoveries he had made, with the intention of returning again to the coasts of Florida to make further discoveries. He accordingly left the coast on the 3d of December, and arrived at *San-Juan-de-Lua* on the 14th; and herewith certifies that the above statement is a true account of what took place. And this declaration having been read to him, he has approved the same, and signed it with his name.

GUIDO DE LAS BAZARES.

Signed and sworn to, before me, first notary of the government of New Spain,

ANTONIO DE FURCIOS.

And confirmed in all its particulars by us, who made the voyage with him,

HERNAND PEREZ.

CONSTANTINO OREJA DE SAN REMON.

BERNOLDO PELOSO.

JUAN MUNOS ARVAEZ.

The above statement was made and read in presence of Father PEDRO DE FERIA, Vicar-General of the province of Florida; DOMINGO DE SALAZAR, his

Spain as the *chapin* (trunk-fish), of which they consume not less than the former. There are also on the islands a great number of animals, especially deer; and on some of them large bears are found. These islands extend from west to east, and as the mainland of Florida lies at no great distance to the eastward, these animals could easily pass over from

friend, and FRANCISCO DE AGUILAR, notary, who accompanied the expedition to the coast of Florida. To which is herewith added the following account of the voyage of Don ANGEL DE VILLAFANE, Governor and Captain-General of the provinces of Florida,* that terminate at a point (on the Atlantic coast) called *St. Helena* (South Carolina), in 32 degrees north latitude.

On the 27th of May, 1561, the Governor, with two frigates and a caravel, arrived at *St. Helena* (sound), and sailed up the river (*Jordan*) four or five leagues, and took possession of the country in the name of his Majesty CHARLES IX.; but, not discovering a convenient port or land suitable for a colony, he returned to sea, and followed the coast in search of a port; and having doubled Cape *San Roman* (Fear), in 34 degrees north latitude, he landed on the 2d of June, and ordered a ship to make soundings, and found the bottom good; and from thence he went into the interior until he came to a large river which discharged its waters near the cape (*San Roman*), and took possession of the country and called it "*Jordan*," and proceeded to sea. On the 8th of June, he returned and re-entered the river *Jordan* (St. Helena Sound), with two frigates, but, not finding a suitable harbor, he again returned to sea, and was annoyed with the discovery that the frigate *San Juan* had fouled her anchor, and lost it near Cape *San Roman*. He continued his exploration along the coast with two frigates, and sent the treasurer, Don ALONZO VELASQUEZ, with one of them to the river of *Canoes* (De las Canoas), in latitude $34\frac{1}{2}$ degrees north, which he ascertained to be one and a half fathoms deep at one and a half leagues from its mouth. He afterwards rejoined the Governor, who continued to examine the coast until the 14th of June, when he reached Cape *Trusfalgar* (Lookout), in 35 degrees north latitude.

At ten o'clock at night, a tempest arose, and the caravel was near being lost,

* Sent out by Don FRANCISCO DE GARAY, Viceroy of Jamaica, with instructions to make an examination of the coasts of Florida.

the peninsula, and thence from island to island. To us, however, who found ourselves *prisoners* there, it seemed strange to see deer in the island of Cuchiyaga, and also to hear them frequently spoken of elsewhere. There are many other things which I could tell about, but must omit them for the present, for those of more importance. On these

as well as both frigates. They were surrounded by shoals and a submerged coast, and, being far away from any port, the Governor and pilots decided to proceed on their voyage, until they reached the port of *Monte Christo*, in the island of Hispaniola, where the Governor landed on the 9th of July, 1561; and at the request of Governor Don ANGEL VILLAFANE, I, the undersigned notary, being informed of all the facts of the voyage made by him, have written the foregoing statement at the port of *Monte Christo*, St. Domingo, this tenth day of July, 1561. To which I affix the seal of my office to the original, this fifth day of May, 1565, and transmit the same to the King's Council of the Indies.

(Signed,)

TELLO DE SANDOVAL;

le licencié Don GOMEZ DE ZAPATA;

le licencié Don ALONSO MUNOS;

Don LUIS DE MOLINA.

DON GONZALO PEREZ, Secretary of the Council of the Indies, at the same time he presented the above to the President, laid before him a memorandum from the King requesting the Council to give him their definition of the rights of the King to Florida, and whether the French can take possession of that country and build forts there. The Council informed the King that his title to the country of Florida is clear and indisputable, and founded on the gift of Pope ALEXANDER VI.,* and the taking possession of that country by Governor-General Don ANGEL

* In 1496, the English, emulous of the discoveries and maritime glory of Spain and Portugal, and indifferent to the Pope's charter of donation, fitted out an expedition under letters patent from HENRY VII. to JOHN CABOT and his three sons, to seek for a western passage, to the north of the new Spanish discoveries, to Cathay (India.) In the prosecution of this scheme, the CABOTS discovered Newfoundland, and probably explored the coast of North America

islands also are found a species of tree or wood, which we call *guaiacum* or *lignum-vitæ* (*Guaiacum Officinale*), and which physicians know is useful for many purposes; also fruit trees of different kinds. It is useless to speak of the great variety of fruits found there. Westward of these islands lies a great channel, through which no pilot dares to

DE VILLAFANE, is the same country which the French have recently taken possession of and built a fort there called Carolin: and the same country which GUIDO DE LAS BAZARES took formal possession of in 1558; and which the fleets and ships of the King of Spain have at different times explored and taken possession of. JUAN PONCE DE LEON was the first to discover and take

south as far as Florida. While state policy and ambition were thus powerfully seconded by individual enterprise, the New World became the grand lottery of the Old. Spain and Portugal reacted upon each other in their successive discoveries; and now that COLUMBUS and VESPUCIUS had planted the Cross as the insignia of conquest and possession on many a barbarous coast in Africa and America, and though those unexplored countries may be thought to have lain too far apart to produce clashing interests, still they begot great international jealousies.

And as *Rome* was still the Court of final appeal to Christendom, and the Pope the source whence all new rights of sovereignty were derived, the Pope was called upon by Spain and Portugal to decide this knotty question, and the famous ALEXANDER VI. issued in 1496 a bull of donation fixing as limits of partition a meridian drawn 100 leagues west of the Azores and Cape de Verd Islands; and assigned to Spain the dominion of all lands newly discovered, or to be discovered, as far as 180 degrees to the west of this line; and to Portugal all that lay within the same extent eastward of the meridian assumed. Neither England nor France, however, acknowledged any right in the Pope to make such magnificent gifts of unknown territory, and sent out expedition after expedition to make discoveries without asking leave of his Holiness. And as neither Spain nor Portugal questioned the inherent right of the Pope to gift the world to them as a theater for plunder and spoliation, the limits of partition became a long and fertile subject of difference between themselves and others.

pass with a large vessel, because, as stated elsewhere, exist towards the west a number of treeless islands. Formerly they were probably covered with earth which the tides have carried off, leaving only barren shores of sand about seven miles in circumference. They are called The Tortugas, because of the great number of tortoises that collect there

possession ; after him, LUCAS VASQUEZ DE AYLLON ; and after him, PAMFILO DE NARVAEZ ; and after NARVAEZ, HERNANDO DE SOTO. All of whom, and many others, were commissioned by your Majesty to explore and take possession of Florida. And therefore the French have no right to interfere, as they might hereafter build forts, interrupt commerce, and capture the ships of your Majesty coming from the Indies.

EARLY EXPLORATIONS

OF THE

GULF OF MEXICO AND ATLANTIC COAST OF FLORIDA.

THE name of America was first given to the New World in 1507. "La Dénomination d'Amerique a été proposée loin de Seville en Lorraine en 1507. Les mappe Monde qui portent le nom d'Amerique n'ont paru que 8 ou 10 ans apres la mort de Vespuce." *Humboldt's Geogr. du Nouveau Continent*, vol. 5, p. 206.



JUAN PONCE DE LEON, in 1513, with his pilot, ALAMINOS, in coasting the *Gulf of Mexico*, occasionally landed and gave names to several places along the Florida Keys as far as the present "*Charlotte Bay*," and after cruising among the Lucayan Islands, in search of the fountain of youth, he discovered the mainland of Florida, in about latitude $30\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$, near the mouth of the present *St. John's* river.

DIEGO MIRUELO, a celebrated pilot, sailed from Cuba in 1516, with a single vessel, to the Florida coast, and obtained from the Indians pieces of gold, and without further exploration he returned to Cuba, and gave the most glowing account of the country.

HERNANDEZ DE CORDOVA, in 1517, sailed west from Cuba in three small

to rest during the night. These tortoises are about the size of a large shield, have as much flesh as a cow, are all meat, and still they are fish. Going northward, between *Havanna* and Florida, and towards the islands, the Tortugas are first met. The Martyr Islands are forty leagues from *Havanna*, twenty from the Tortugas, and twenty leagues more to

vessels with ANTONIO ALAMINOS, who had been with COLUMBUS as chief pilot, and relying upon the opinion of COLUMBUS, who maintained that a westerly course would lead to important discoveries, he sailed west from Cuba and struck Cape *Catoche*, Yucatan. As he approached the shore, five canoes full of people clad in cotton garments—an astonishing spectacle to the Spaniards, who had only seen naked Indians in other parts of America. Without losing sight of the coast he discovered the river *Potonchan*, near *Campeachy*, where he landed his troops to collect water, when the natives attacked him with such fury, that after losing half his men, and sinking under the wounds he received, he returned to Cuba, where he died soon after he landed

JUAN DE GRIJALVA, by order of VELASQUEZ, Governor of Cuba, explored the coast of the *Gulf of Mexico*, with ANTONIO ALAMINOS as pilot, in 1518, as far as *Cabo Rosso*, in latitude $21^{\circ} 45'$, near *Tampico*, and brought home with him a large amount of gold; and in his admiration of the country, which resembled Spain, he called it *New Spain* (Mexico). He continued to sail west beyond *Tobasco*, and was received by the natives as superior beings, with incense and choice offerings of ornaments of gold of curious workmanship.

He finally reached *San Juan de Ulloa*, and after sending dispatches to *Velasquez*, with an account of his discoveries, he returned to Cuba; and in the following year, the famous HERNANDO CORTEZ, burning for conquest, took with him ANTONIO ALAMINOS as pilot, which resulted in his invasion and conquest of Mexico.

ANTONIO DE ALAMINOS was dispatched by HERANDO CORTEZ, in 1519, with treasures from Vera Cruz to the King of Spain, and passed into the Atlantic Ocean through the Florida channel, which he had previously discovered, as the chief pilot of PONCE DE LEON.

ALONZO ALVAREZ DE PINEDA was ordered by FRANCISCO DE GARAY, Governor of Jamaica, in 1519, to explore the coast of the *Gulf of Mexico*, and in sailing along the coast he discovered the mouths of the *Mississippi*, and explored all

Florida,—that is, to arrive at the Indian province of Carlos* (or Calos), of which the name signifies “cruel village.” It is thus named because the inhabitants are barbarous and very adroit in the handling of arms. They are masters of a part of the country extending as far as the village of

* Probably so called from the name of its chief, who, hearing from his Spanish captives of the grandeur and power of CHARLES V. (Carlos V.), in emulation appropriated the name to himself. “It is still preserved,” says BRINTON, “in the Seminole appellation of the *Sanybal* river, *Carlota-hatchie*, *Cayo-Hueso* (Key West), and *Cayo-Vacas*, names of the latest residences of the *Caloosas*, before they were driven from Florida, and went to *Havana*.”

the shore from *Panuco* to Cape *Florida*, and directing his course north, he found that Florida was not an island, but a peninsula, joined to a great continent (Navarrete Viages Menores) in the north, and afterward returned to Vera Cruz. Still CORTEZ believed there might be found in the interior of the country another Mexico, and hence two expeditions were fitted out; one under PAMFILO DE NARVAEZ, in 1528, and one under HERNANDO DE SOTO, in 1538–1543.

LUCAS VASQUEZ DE ALLYON dispatched two vessels from San Domingo, in 1520, on an expedition to capture the natives in the Lucayan group to sell as slaves to the planters of that island and Cuba; but on reaching the Lucayan islands he found them almost depopulated, and pursued their voyage along the coast of Florida north of *Savannah* as far as Cape *St. Helena*, and after discovering an inhabited country, “called by the natives *Chicora*,” and extremely fertile, they returned to San Domingo with captured natives. In 1523, DE ALLYON obtained from the King of Spain a royal grant, with the title of Adelantado, and fitted out an expedition of four vessels in 1526, with five hundred men, to establish a colony in “*Chicora*,” South Carolina. On entering the country he took possession in the name of the King, and explored it as far as “*San Miguel Guadalupe*,” where he spent a winter, and where many of his men sickened and died; and in attempting to capture the natives to carry them into slavery, he lost his life, and left his nephew, DON JUAN RAMIREZ, as Governor.

FRANCIS I., King of France, fitted out an expedition of four ships in 1524, under the command of GIOVANNI DA VERRAZANO, to make discoveries, as well as

Guasaca, near the Lake *Mayaimi*, thus named on account of its great size.

In going from *Havanna* to the opposite shore, the chain of the Martyr Islands commences near the coast of Florida. Here one finds himself about sixty leagues from the islands

explore the coast of Florida, and arrived in sight of land March 24, 1524, in latitude of 34° north, which brought him north of *Port Royal*, *St. Helena* sound. At this point, instead of exploring the southern coast of Florida, he sailed north, and landed at different points along the coasts of Carolina, Virginia, New York, Rhode Island, Massachusetts, and Maine; and with untiring zeal, searched every bay and river for a passage to the westward, until he reached Newfoundland, and gave to the whole coast discovered, the name of New France.

On his return to France he fitted out another expedition with the sanction of FRANCIS I., for the establishment of a colony in the newly-discovered countries: but the bold navigator never returned to France, and nothing certain is known of his fate. It is somewhat remarkable that three Italians should have directed the discoveries of France, Spain, and England, and thus became the instruments of dividing the dominions of the new world among alien powers, while their own classic land reaped neither glory nor advantage from the genius and courage of her sons. And that in less than three centuries after, neither France nor Spain held a foot of territory on the Atlantic coast or *Gulf of Mexico*.

PAMFILO DE NARVAEZ was duly commissioned to fit out a fleet in 1527 to conquer and govern the country on the *Gulf of Mexico*, extending from the river of *Palms* (near *Tampico*) to Cape Florida. He sailed from the port of *St. Lucar* on the 17th June with five vessels, carrying six hundred men, to establish a colony; but, owing to detentions, he did not reach the bay of *Espiritu Santo* (Tampa Bay), Florida, until Holy Thursday, April 14, 1528. He took formal possession of this vast territory on the *Gulf of Mexico* on Good Friday, and issued a proclamation to the Indians that unless they acknowledged the sovereignty of the Pope and the Emperor (Charles V.) they, their wives, and children shall be made slaves of, and sold as they shall think fit. (*See proclamation published in this volume*, p. 153.) The natives met him with a bold front on his landing, and motioned to him to go back to his ships. He left one hundred men on board of his ships, and with the remainder he set out to explore the country, determined to proceed to the head-waters of the *Apalachee*, where he expected to find

of the other extremity of the group. There are several channels, of which the principal one is very wide, and of variable depths. The greatest width, as nearly as I can remember, from the report of the Indians, is towards the Bermuda Islands. I shall now say no more on this subject,

the treasures of gold and silver he came in search of. But, after disastrous wanderings over a vast country without finding any gold, and greatly discouraged as to the nature and resources of the country, he turned his expedition toward the sea, and after nine days of fighting with the natives, whom he represented as men of fine proportions, tall, and great strength, who discharged their arrows with great force, he finally reached *Ante*, on the sea-coast, now known as *St. Marks* (San Marco d'Apalachee), and near the Bay of *Apalachicola*. Utterly dispirited, he embarked the remnant of his half-starved troops in rude and hastily-built boats for *Panuco* on the 22d September, 1528; and after entering the sea, and encountering violent storms, he and most of his companions were swallowed up in the waters of the *Gulf of Mexico*. The survivors, CABECA DE VACA and three others, remained six years in the country among the coast Indians, and finally found their way back, after incredible hardships, to Mexico; and, on his return to Spain, DE VACA published an interesting narrative of his adventures.

After the death of NARVAEZ, the vast country comprehended under the name of Florida still remained unexplored, when HERNANDO DE SOTO obtained permission from the King of Spain to conquer Florida. Arriving at Cuba from Spain, he sailed from *Havana* on Sunday, May 18, 1539, with four ships, three caravels, and three transports with horses, twelve priests, eight assistants, and four friars; six hundred and twenty soldiers and two hundred and twenty-three horses; with the title of Adelantado and Alguazil Mayor over two hundred leagues of the coast he should discover between the province of Rio de las Palmas and Florida; and after a prosperous voyage he landed at the Bay of *Espiritu Santo* (Tampa Bay) on Whitsunday, the 25th May, 1539, and the name of *Espiritu Santo* was given in honor of the day.

It is not the purpose of this sketch to describe all the bloody battles of DE SOTO with the natives of Florida, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, and Arkansas, through which he marched; but, cutting his way from *Tampa Bay*, he arrived at *Anaica Apalache*, in the neighborhood of the present town of *Tallahassee*, about thirty miles from the present *St. Marks*, where he discovered the

but describe the group of the Martyr Islands lying to the northward.

These islands terminate near an Indian village called *Tegesta*,* built on the borders of a river, which takes its rise in the interior. It runs through fifteen leagues of country,

* The province of *Tegesta* is situated to the west of the *Caloosa*, and embraced a string of villages stretching from Cape *Canaveral* to the southern extremity of Florida. The more northern portion was, says BRINTON, called *Ais*, from the native word *aisa*, deer. The residence of the *paracoussi*, or chief, was near Cape *Canaveral* (Corientes).

remains of NARVAEZ' encampment, and learned here that a country to the north (Georgia) abounded in gold. He marched in the direction of the *Savannah* river to its head-waters, and from thence to *Guaxule* on the *Conasauga*, and down its western bank to *Chiaha*, now the site of the present town of *Rome*. About this time he was informed by an Indian chief that in the mountains of the north, at a place called *Chisca*, there were copper mines. On the 2d July, after a march of ten days, he reached the town of *Costa* (Alabama). The expedition now began to enter the province of *Cooça*, whose fertility was known to all the Indians, which now embrace the counties of Cherokee, Benton, Talladega, and *Cooça*. At the town of *Cooça* he was met by a thousand warriors, tall and admirably proportioned, dressed in splendid mantles of marten skins, their heads adorned with brilliant feathers of different colors, and armed with bows and arrows.

On leaving *Cooça* he arrived at *Tallassee* September 15, where he found extensive fields of corn, beans, and pumpkins. Having remained here twenty days, he crossed the *Tallapoosa*, and proceeded towards *Maubila* on *Choctaw Bluff*, where he arrived October 18, 1540. Here he had a battle with the natives, which lasted nine hours, and where DE SOTO lost more than one hundred of his men, including officers. Having suffered so severely, he proceeded on his march to the *Pafallaya* country, now embraced in Clark, Marengo, and Green counties, where he was attacked by fifteen hundred Indians, which he drove back into the *Black Warrior* river. He now led his troops across the river, and continued his march to the town of *Chickasa*, now embraced in Yalobusha county. The cold weather now set in, and the Chief of the *Chickasa* Nation became his constant visitor. Upon the appearance of Spring (1541), the *Chickasa* Indians pressed

and flows from a fresh-water lake, which the Indians visit and pretend it forms a part of Lake *Mayaimi* (Okechobee). This lake is situated in the midst of the country, and is surrounded by a great number of villages of from thirty to forty inhabitants each, who live on bread made from roots during most of the year. They cannot procure it, however, when

upon him with several thousands of armed men, but at length they fled from the field of battle, pursued by DE SOTO and his army.

On the 25th April, 1541, DE SOTO marched northwest through a champagne country thickly populated, and attacked the Indian fortress of *Alibamo*, situated upon the *Yazoo* river, in the county of Tallahatchie, which he captured. In May, 1541, he reached the *Mississippi* river, and was the first to cross it, unless CABEZA DE VACA had crossed it twelve years before.

DE SOTO now consumed a year in exploring what is now called Arkansas, and returned to the *Mississippi* at *Guachayo*, below the mouth of the *Arkansas* river, in May, 1542. Here he became sick, and died on the last of May, 1542. And to conceal his death from the Indians, he was silently plunged, by the dim light of the stars, into the muddy waters of that river; and the remainder of his army, after having consumed several years in wandering over the vast regions of Florida, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, and Arkansas, built brigantines, sailed down the *Mississippi*, and reached Mexico in September, 1543.

FRANCISCO MALDINADO, who had been sent from *Apalachicola* by DE SOTO with the brigantines to look for a port to the westward, discovered the Bay of *Pensacola* (Ochuse) in 1539, and returned to Cuba: and in the summer of 1541-2, touched again at *Ochuse* and at other points on the *Gulf of Mexico*. He and his distinguished associate, GOMEZ ARIAZ, in the spring of 1543, determined not to give up the search for DE SOTO, touched at *Vera Cruz*, where they learned of the death of DE SOTO upon the *Mississippi*, and that only three hundred of his men had reached Mexico. Notwithstanding the failure of DE SOTO to establish a colony in Florida, the religious zeal of the Franciscans still remained unabated, to plant a colony and Christianize the natives. They consequently addressed a memorial to the Emperor, setting forth the great richness of Florida, and the immense benefits which would result to the cause of religion and the empire from its acquisition. The Viceroy of New Spain (Mexico) was accordingly instructed by the Emperor to fit out an expedition, which sailed from

the waters of the lake rise very high. They have roots which resemble the truffles of this country (Spain), and have besides excellent fish. Whenever game is to be had, either deer or birds, they eat meat. Large numbers of very fat eels are found in the rivers, some of them as large as a man's thigh, and enormous trout, almost as large as a man's body; although smaller ones are also found. The natives eat lizards, snakes, and rats, which infest the lakes, fresh-water

Vera Cruz in 1559, under the command of DON TRISTAN DE LUNA Y AVELLANO with fifteen hundred soldiers, and a large number of friars burning with zeal to convert the natives; and on the 14th August they reached the bay of *Santa Maria Filipina* (Pensacola), and six days after he arrived, a terrific gale wrecked a part of his fleet. He dispatched, however, four companies, with two friars, to penetrate the country as far as the province of Coca, and with the remainder of the expedition he established himself at the port (*Pensacola*). The expedition reached an Indian town on the river (supposed to be the *Alabama* river), which they named *Santa Cruz Napicnoca*, where it was afterwards joined by DON TRISTAN DE LUNA, and from thence they proceeded on their march to other Indian towns on the banks of a river called *Olibaka* (supposed to be the Coosa), where they procured a supply of provisions, and some days after they reached the famous province of Coca. Here they remained some weeks, but the obstacles they encountered with the natives, and scarcity of provisions, so discouraged them that they abandoned the expedition and returned to the bay of *Santa Maria* (Pensacola), and afterwards to *Vera Cruz*. This expedition establishes the fact that the whole of this region was visited by the Spaniards from 1539 to 1566, and was the last of the exploring expeditions sent to Florida by the Spaniards prior to the landing of RIBAUT and LAUDONNIERE to found a French colony of Protestants on the Atlantic coast of Florida. See *Historical Collections of Louisiana, Narratives of HERNANDO DE SOTO and BIEDMA, Vol. 2, pp. 177-362, GARCILASSO DE LA VEGA, pp. 272-326, FAIRBANKS' Florida, p. 81-3, PICKET'S Alabama, Vol. 1, pp. 5-52, CARDENAS (Barcia) Ensayo Chronologico Historia General de la Florida, pp. 20-52, Naufragios de ALVAR NUNEZ CABECA DE VACA y Relacion de la Iornada que hizo a la Florida, con el Adelantado PAMFILO DE NARVAEZ, pp. 12-36.*

turtles, and many other animals which it would be tiresome to enumerate. They live in a country covered with swamps and cut up by high bluffs. They have no metals, nor anything belonging to the Old World. They go naked, except the women, who wear little aprons woven of shreds of palm. They pay tribute to CARLOS, composed of all the objects I have spoken, such as fish, game, roots, deer-skins, etc.

CHAPTER II.



THINK from what I was told by some Indians from the islands of Jeaga, at the beginning of the Bahamas, that the auditor LUCAS VASQUEZ D'AYLLON,* of San Domingo, accompanied by six of his planters, came in vessels to visit this country and the river *St. Helena*, situated seven leagues to the northward, on the banks of which is a village named *Orista*, but which by mistake they called *Chicora*. They saw another village, named *Quale*, but called by them *Gualdape*: these are all they visited, as they did not explore the interior. The truth is, there is neither gold nor silver

* To AYLLON was given the title of Adelantado, to aid him in the conquest of *Chicora* (South Carolina), which he discovered, and described as a rich and fertile country, abounding in valuable productions, and inhabited with natives of a clear understanding, governed by a king. One of his ships was commanded by JORDAN, with MIRUELO as pilot, and reached the latitude of 34 degrees; the other, *Cabo de St. Elena* (Cape St. Helena); and it is said he also reached *Bahia Santa Maria* (Chesapeake Bay) in 1526. On the chart of RIBERO, 1529, all the countries discovered by AYLLON are indicated under the name of "Tierra de Ayllon," which covers all the territory south of the States of Virginia, N. and S. Carolina, and Georgia. One of the objects of his several expeditions was to capture slaves to sell in St. Domingo and Cuba. He died in October, 1526, from wounds received in a battle with the natives.

within sixty leagues of this place, although I am informed there are both gold and copper mines* in the interior, towards the north. On the banks of a river and of some of the lakes, are the Indian villages of *Otopali*, *Olgatano*, and many others. The people are not of the *Chichimèque* race, nor are they of the same race as the inhabitants of the river *Jordan*. Their principal king is called, in the language of the *Carlos* Indians, Zertepe, and is superior to all the other chiefs, as MONTEZUMA was. In that portion of the country which LUCAS VASQUEZ D'AYLLON and other Spaniards visited, the inhabitants are very poor. Some small pearls are found there, however, in the shell-fish. The natives live on fish, large oysters, roasted or raw, deer, roe-buck, and other animals. When the men go out to hunt, the women collect wood and water to boil or broil their food. If the Spaniards found gold there at any time, it must have been brought there from a great distance, probably from the mountains of the domains of the king of whom I have just spoken. It has been said the Indians of Cuba worshiped the river of *Jordan*, but that is not true.

JUAN PONCE DE LEON, believing the reports of the

* On the return of DE SOTO's expedition to Mexico (New Spain), the soldiers reported that gold, silver, and copper mines were found and worked by the Indians in the Apalachian mountains, and subsequently by the Spaniards in Northern Georgia. DE BRY and also other writers state that the Indians gathered gold and silver to a limited extent from the streams of the auriferous mountains of Carolina and Georgia, and worked them into ornaments, which they wore as pendants.

Indians of Cuba and San Domingo to be true, made an expedition into Florida to discover the river *Jordan*.* This he did either because he wished to acquire renown, or, perhaps, because he hoped to become young again by bathing in its waters. Many years ago, a number of Cuban Indians went in search of this river, and entered the province of Carlos (Calos),† but SEQUENE, the father of CARLOS, took them prisoners, and settled them in a village where their descendants are still living. The news that these people had left their own country to bathe in the river *Jordan*, spread among all the kings and chiefs of Florida, and as they were an ignorant people, they all set out in search of this river, which was supposed to possess the power of rejuvenating old men and women. So eager were they in their search, that they did not pass a river, a brook, a lake, or even a swamp, without bathing in it; and, even to this day, they have not ceased to look for it, but always without any success. The natives of Cuba, braving the dangers of the sea, became victims to their faith, and thus it happened that

*Of all the historic names connected with Florida, none stand out more prominently than that of PONCE DE LEON. The romantic character of his expeditions has won for him a name which will be kept in everlasting remembrance as a bold and adventurous cavalier and navigator. With the pilot ALAMINOS he discovered the Atlantic shore of Florida, near the mouth of the *St. John's* river, in latitude $30\frac{1}{2}$ degrees; and the Gulf shore in latitude 24 degrees. The exploration of the *Gulf of Mexico* was spread over a period of twenty years.

† All the tribes north of the province of Carlos, throughout the country around the *Hillsborough* river, and probably from it to the *Withlacooche*, and easterly to the *Ocklawaha*, appear to have lived under one chief or king.

they came to Carlos, where they built a village. They came in such great numbers, that although many have died, there are still many living there, both old and young. While I was a prisoner in those parts, I bathed in a great many rivers, but I never found the right one. It seems incredible that JUAN PONCE DE LEON should have gone to Florida to look for such a river.

Let us now speak of the Abolachi country, not far distant from *Panuco*, where, it is reported, so many pearls are found, and really do exist.

Between Abolachi and Olagale* is a river which the Indians call *Guasaca-Esgui*, which means, translated into our language, *Reed* river. It is on the sea-coast, and at the mouth of this river, the pearls are found, in oyster and other shells; and from thence they are carried into all the provinces and villages of Florida; especially to *Tocobajo*, which is the nearest place, and where the greatest cacique or king of this country resides. This village is situated on the right, coming from *Havanna*. The name of the chief is TOCO-BAJA-CHILE. He has a great many subjects, is an independent chief, and dwells on the other side of the river; which extends more than forty leagues into the interior of the country, where FERDINAND DE SOTO intended to establish colonies, but was prevented by death, when his followers disbanded and returned to Spain. On their way back they hung the chief of the Abolachi country, because he refused to provide them

* Olagale is probably the Ocale of DE SOTO, and Etocale of BIEDMA. (Historical Collections of Louisiana, vol. 2, pp. 92-130.)

with maize for their journey, or, as the Indians say, for the sake of some large pearls which he wore on his neck, one of which was as large as a ring-dove's egg. The natives say there are no gold or silver mines in this country, at least none known to them. They live on maize, fish, deer, roebucks, and other animals; but fish constitutes their principal food. They make bread from roots which grow in the swamps, and have a variety of fruits. The men and women go almost naked. The former wear no other clothing than aprons made of prepared deer skins, while the latter make theirs of moss which grows on trees, and is not much unlike hemp or wool.

Let us now leave Tocobajo, Abolachi, Olagale, and Mogozo, which are distinct kingdoms, and speak of the villages and market-towns of King CARLOS,* who was afterwards put to death by Captain REYNOSO for some hostile demonstration. The most important of these villages are *Tampa*, *Tomo*, *Tuchi*, *Sogo*, *No* (which means "*beloved village*"), *Sinapa*, *Sinacsta*, *Metamapo*, *Sacaspada*, *Calaobe*, *Estame*, *Yagua*, *Guaya*, *Guevu*, *Muspa*, *Casitoa*, *Talesta*, *Coyovea*, *Futun*, *Teguemapo*, *Comachica*, *Luiseyove*, besides two other villages

* The tribes of CALOS or CARLOS spoke different dialects, and resided in the southern portion of Florida. The *Timuquans* lived along the coast north and south of *St. Augustine*, the Timuquan dialect being used at *San Mateo*, *Asila*, *Machua*, *San Pedro*, etc. Father PAREJA, one of the founders of the Franciscan Order in *St. Helena*, Florida, and guardian of the first convent established there in 1578, published "*Gramatica de la Lengua Timuquana de Florida*, 1614," "*Catecismo de la Doctrina Christiana en Lengua Timuquana*, 1617," and the "*Confesonario en lengua Timuquana*, Mexico, 1612."

whose names I do not recollect, as it is now ten years since I was there. In the interior, on Lake *Mayaimi*, there are *Cutespa*, *Tavagueme*, *Tonsobe*, *Enempa*, and others whose names I have forgotten. In the Lucayan Islands there are two Indian villages, subjects of King CARLOS, one of which is called *Guaragunve*, and the other *Cuchiaga*. CARLOS was sovereign of fifty villages, as his father had been up to the time of his death. The power is now in the hands of his son SEBASTIAN, who bears this name, because Don PEDRO MENENDEZ DE AVILES conferred it upon him when he took him to *Havanna* to be educated, and ordered him to be called thus. Notwithstanding the good treatment the Indians received from MENENDEZ, they revolted a second time, which was more serious than the first. It would still have been more unfortunate if they had been baptized, for I have heard them say Christianity was forbidden among them. Most of our strategy was known to them. They are athletic, and use the bow and arrow adroitly. No one knows that country as well as I do, for I was a prisoner there from the age of thirteen to thirty years, and I speak four of the languages of its people. There is only the language of the *Ais* and *Jeaga* which I am not acquainted with, because I have never lived among them.

The *Abolachi** are a powerful nation, rich in pearls; but

*"The early French and Spanish writers vary in the orthography of this name. The old Spanish writers write it Abolache, Apalache, Appallatcy: the French, Apalaches. COXE drops the A and writes it Palache, Palatcy, etc. Apáliché in the *Tamanaca* dialect signifies *man*. They were a most united,

they have no gold, except what is brought from the mines of Onagatano, situated in the Snowy Mountains of Onagatano, the farthest of the *Abolachi* possessions, and still farther, from the nations of *Olacatano*, *Olagale*, *Mogoso*, and *Canogacole*. The last are said to be a numerous and warlike people, who go entirely naked, excepting a few who wear dressed skins. They are artists, and can paint everything they see. They are called *Canogacole*, which means "*wicked people*," and are adroit in drawing the bow. The Spaniards could only conquer them with their superior arms, such as crossbows, muskets, bucklers, large and strong swords, good horses, and *escanpils*.* They only speak their native languages, are an honorable and faithful people, and not like the Biscayan who wanted to sell MENENDEZ to the Indians,

bold, and valorous race, and much more civilized than the adjacent tribes. When DE SOTO arrived in their country he found their fields cultivated, bearing plentiful crops of corn, beans, pumpkins, and fruit of all kinds; having good store of gold, silver, and pearls, which they collected from the lofty mountains of Onagatano (Georgia), abounding in precious metals. Their country was divided into six provinces, interspersed with towns and villages, and lived in houses built of oval shape, plastered with mud, and thatched with reeds and straw. The women manufactured their own clothing from wild hemp and the inner bark of the mulberry tree, lined with skins. Their priests offered up daily morning prayers to the glorious sun; and were regarded as more civilized than the *Carlos*, *Tegesta*, *Ais*, and other tribes of Florida. In the beginning of the eighteenth century they were almost destroyed by other tribes, and driven across the *Mississippi*. By tradition they came originally from Northern Mexico."—See *Brinton's Florida; Historical Collections of Louisiana*, vol. 2, p. 261.

* A sort of armor made of cotton, which the ancient Mexicans used to protect themselves from the arrows of the natives in time of war.

and had not a mulatto and I prevented him, by exposing his treachery, we should have all been put to death; and PEDRO MENENDEZ, instead of dying at *Santander*, would have perished in Florida. If he had conducted himself as I did, and as he ought to have done, the Indians would to-day have been the obedient subjects of our powerful King, PHILIP II., whom I pray the Lord will protect for many years to come.

I have elsewhere said that this chief was sovereign of the "River of *Reeds*," where the pearls and the mines of lapis-lazuli are found; but farther on, the village of *Olagale* is subject to him, where also gold is found.

A Biscayan named Don PEDRO, whom his Majesty had deigned to name Guardian of the Swans, was a prisoner in this country, and had he shown a courage proportionate to the favors which he had received from his Majesty, the Indians of *Ais*, *Guacata*, and of *Jeaga* would long ago have submitted, and many of them would already have been Christians. He spoke perfectly the language of *Ais*, and all those I have mentioned above; and also that which is spoken at *Mayaca*, and *Mayajuaca*, on the other side towards the north. PEDRO MENENDEZ ordered him to be hung on account of the calumnious accusation brought against him and his companion, DOMINGO RUIZ. I think he was frightened, and, after returning to Spain, he drew up his report about Florida. He did not desire to go there, but finally decided to do so, to get his son out of the hands of the Indians, who had heaped cruel treatment

upon him. As for ourselves, we have never to this day received any pay, or obtained any promotion, and returned with our health so impaired, that we have gained but little by going to Florida.

The country of the kings of *Ais** and of *Yeaga* is very poor. It contains neither gold nor silver mines, and, to tell the truth, it is only the sea which enriches it, since many vessels laden with precious metals are shipwrecked there; such as the *Farfan*, and the *Howker*. On board of the latter was ANTON GRANADO and Captain JUAN CRISTOBAL, whom the natives made slaves; and killed Don MARTIN DE GUZMAN, Captain HERNANDO DE ANDINO, and JUAN ORVIS. On board of this ship were the two sons of ALONSO DE MESA and their uncle. They were all rich, and I the poorest among them, yet I had twenty-five *pesos* of fine gold. My father (who was a commander) and my mother, had both served his Majesty in Peru, and subsequently in *Carthagena*, where they established a colony. I, as well as one of my brothers, was born there. They were sending us to Spain to be educated when we were shipwrecked on the Florida coast; as well as the fleet from New Spain, commanded by the son of Don PEDRO MENENDEZ (Adelantado of Florida).

* The kings and chiefs of Florida took their title, or public name, from the place or territory they governed.

CHAPTER III.



AFTERWARDS talked with a Spaniard whom the Indians had kept in a starving condition. He told me that he came from Nicaragua, in one of the Mexican vessels bound for Spain, which was commanded by an Asturian, a son of Don PEDRO MELENDEZ. That he was only a sailor on one of the shipwrecked vessels of the fleet, and ignorant of the fate of the rest until after he had talked with the Indians who went armed to the coast of Ais and returned with very considerable riches, in the form of ingots of gold, sacks of Spanish coins, and quantities of merchandise. As this man had been a prisoner there only for a short time, and knew nothing of the Indian languages, and as JUAN RODRIGUEZ knew them well, we served as interpreters for him and others. It was a great consolation for those who were afterwards shipwrecked there, to find some Christians who could aid them in their misfortunes, and help them to make themselves understood by the natives; for, when the Indians captured them and com-

manded them to dance and sing, and they would not ; and as the Indians of Florida are cruel as well as ill-natured, they thought the Christians refused from obstinacy, and did not wish to comply with their request ; so they massacred them on the spot, and reported to the chief that they had killed them because they were rogues and rebels, and refused to obey.

One day when a negro, two Spaniards, and I were speaking to the chief, in presence of the great men of his court, about what I have just stated, the chief said I was the most deceitful of them all. "ESCALANTE," said he, "tell me the truth, for you know I am a great lover of it ; why, when we commanded your countrymen to dance or sing, or do anything, they were obstinate and refused to obey. Is it because they are indifferent to death, or because they did not wish to obey the enemies of their religion ? Answer me, and, if you do not know, ask those new prisoners who are slaves by their own misfortune. Formerly we took them for gods descended from the heavens." I answered, "My lord, as I understand the matter, they are not rebellious, nor do they refuse from any motive of ill-will, but do not comprehend your wishes. They would only need to understand your language to perform their duty." The chief replied that this was untrue, as he often gave them commands which they sometimes obeyed, and sometimes did not, although they were repeated over and over. "Notwithstanding that, my lord," I replied, "they do not act thus from disobedience, but because they really do not understand you. I wish your lordship would speak to them in

presence of this negro and me." The chief began to laugh, and said to them, "*Se-le-te-ga!*" They then asked what the chief said, and the negro, who stood near them, laughed and said to the chief, "Sire, what ESCALANTE has told you is true, they do not understand you." Then the chief, having perceived that I had told him the truth, said, "ESCALANTE, now I believe you." I then explained to them what *Se-le-te-ga* meant, which is, to go and see if there is any one on the look-out; if any one is coming hither. The inhabitants of Florida always abbreviate their words much more than we do in speaking.

The chief, having perceived the true state of things, told his subjects that when they made prisoners of shipwrecked Christians hereafter, they must give them no orders without his knowledge, so that he might send them a person who understood their language.

I will say no more now on this subject, but proceed to speak of the wealth which the Indians found in bars of gold and Mexican jewelry belonging to the shipwrecked passengers, amounting to more than a million. The chief retained the best part of it for himself, and divided the remainder among the Indians of *Ais*, of *Jaega*, of *Guacata*, of *Mayajuaca*, and of *Mayaca*. Most of the vessels or caravels, as I stated before, which had been shipwrecked there were from Cuba and Honduras, and going in search of the river *Jordan*, which explains how the Indians of *Ais*, of *Jaega*, and the Guardgumve Islands became so enriched by the sea and not by the land.

From *Tocobaga* to *St. Helena* there are about six hundred leagues of coast. This country produces neither gold nor silver, nor are any metals found except those which accident brings to Florida from over the sea. I do not need to say that it is a habitable country, since we know the Indians live there, raise flocks and herds of animals, and cultivate the land. I cannot positively say that sugar can be made there. I know they planted cane and it grew, but I did not remain long enough to see the result. The inhabitants of all the provinces which I have named, from *Tocobaga* to *St. Helena*, are much given to fishing, and are always to be had. They are very adroit at drawing the bow, and also very treacherous, and I am convinced they can never be made submissive and become Christians. I am willing to sign my name to this statement, as a thing of which I am positively certain; and I give it as my opinion, that if it is not followed, matters will grow worse and worse. *They should all be taken, men and women, after terms of peace have been offered them, placed on ships, and scattered throughout the various islands, and even on the Spanish main, where they might be sold as his Majesty sells his vessels to the grandees in Spain. By such clever means they might become civilized, and Spaniards established here.* These latter could then form settlements, raise cattle, and give assistance to numbers of vessels which are lost on the coast of the province of Satoriva, at or near St. Augustine, San Matheo (*St. John's*), where the French Lutherans established a fort for the purpose of plundering all vessels that arrive from the mainland,

whether from Mexico, Peru, or any other country. They have already done this thing, and taken refuge on the San Matheo river, where dwell in villages the perfidious chiefs, SATORIVA, ALIMACANY.

On the banks of the *San Matheo* (St. John's), sixty leagues further inland, reside other independent chiefs, CARDECHA, ENCAPPE, UTINA, SARANAY, and MOLOA, who govern other villages reaching as far as *Mayajuaca*, in the Ais country, near the district planted with reeds, which our guides said was the place where Don PEDRO DE MENENDEZ made terms of peace with them. They possess, however, neither gold, silver, nor pearls, and are great rascals and beggars. They use bows and arrows, and, like those before described, wear no clothing. In ascending the river *San Matheo*, one can go as far as *Tocobaga* on the west side of Florida, but I do not advise any one to go so far as this river. After having passed the bar of the river, one might go on as far as *Agacay*, which is fifty or sixty leagues from the coast, or even as far as *Utina*, where he could disembark and proceed from village to village until, arriving at *Cano-gacola*, the inhabitants of which are subjects of TOCO-BAGA. Thence he could go on to the very farthest known point, *situated on another great river* (Mississippi), *whither DE SOTO went, and where he died.* And now I shall say no more, for if there were any question of making a conquest of this country, I could not furnish any more details than those I have already given. *The conquest of this country would be advantageous to his Majesty for the security of his fleets going*

to Peru, New Spain, and ports of the West India Islands. These fleets must necessarily pass through the *Bahama Channel*, and close to this coast, where many people are shipwrecked and lose their lives, because the Indians are our enemies, and handle the bow skillfully. It would, therefore, be well to have a small fort erected to protect the channel. To support this fort, and pay the soldiers who should garrison it, a fund might be established by levying taxes on Peru, Mexico, Cuba, and other parts of the Indies. This is all that can be done, unless pearl-fishing is engaged in, as pearls are the only treasures the country offers. With this expression of opinion, I close my description of Florida and herewith subscribe my name to it.

HERNANDO D'ESCALANTE FONTANEDO.

LA REPRINSE DE LA FLORIDE,

PAR LE CAPPITAINE GOURGUE.

INTRODUCTION.



It was not until after the overthrow and expulsion of the French Protestants (Huguenots) from Florida, in 1565, that the Catholics no less than the Protestants of Europe felt how atrocious it was to put to death hundreds of innocent persons, in time of peace, which the laws of nations as well as humanity should have protected. Such conduct would not, however, have been ventured upon by the Spaniards towards France, but for the strength of the Catholic party and their hostility to the Protestants

of France and of the Netherlands who wished at that time to prevent the establishment of the Inquisition among them.

In vain had Captain RIBAUT and his shipwrecked companions urged upon the Captain-General (MENENDEZ) that the kings of France and Spain were not only at peace but in alliance. The plaint of humanity was stifled in the interests of the Roman Catholic religion, as the kings of France and Spain were then preparing for the bloody tragedy of St. Bartholomew's Day, which was to crush out Protestant heresy. For several years this horrible tempest devastated the finest provinces of France. There was still, however, a chivalrous feeling left which showed itself superior to the exactions of sect or party, and brooded over with intensity the cold-blooded massacre of the French colony in Florida; and the avenger arose in due season, to satisfy the demands of justice.

It was at this period that Chevalier DOMINIQUE DE GOURGUE, a retired officer in Guyenne, who had served with distinction in the wars of France, heard of the news of the massacre of the French colony; and after the King had neglected to punish the brutal conduct of the Spaniards, he undertook to carry out his singular and chivalrous enterprise to punish the Spaniards and repair the honor of France. He secretly fitted out an expedition of three small ships and one hundred and fifty soldiers, with funds furnished by himself and friends, and sailed for Florida in 1567, where he arrived, but not without detention from storms, in 1568; and so entirely were the Spaniards unsuspecting of an attack, that he passed their forts on the river *May*, and was saluted by them. He sailed on fifteen leagues further to the north, to the *Allamaha* or *St. Mary's* river, where he landed his troops and called together the Indian chiefs and warriors of that country; and with their aid, he successfully carried out his plans of capturing the Spanish forts on the river *May* (now St. Johns), manned by three hundred men or more, and hung all the men who did not escape (or were not killed) to the same trees on which the Spanish Governor MENENDEZ, three years before, had hung the French colonists; and sailed back to France, where he arrived on the day of Pentecost, 1568, and was received with great applause. The Spanish minister on hearing of his arrival, offered a reward for his head, but he found an asylum among his numerous friends, and lived for many years in obscurity. At length he was tendered by Don ANTONIO the command of his fleet to defend his right to the crown of Portugal against PHILIP THE SECOND, which he promptly accepted; but on his way to join the Portuguese prince, he died at *Tours* of a sudden illness. The French nation mourned his loss; and still hold in high respect the memory of one of the bravest men that ever graced her annals.

Appendix.

LA REPRINSE DE LA FLORIDE,

PAR LE CAPPITAINE GOURGUE.*



ENTRE plusieurs singularitez incongneues aux siecles passez que Dieu a reservées pour les hommes de ce temps, la plus admirable à mon advis est une quatreiesme partie de la terre decouverte depuis quatre-vingts ans aussi grande ou plus que les trois ja congneus et descrites par les anciens, et une infinité de belles isles qui sont autour de ceste nouvelle terre, dont nous sont advenuz infinies commoditez : et entre autres ceste-cy, que les hommes studieux n'estimeront la moindre. Que la géograsie auparavant manque de moitié, par ce moien h'a maintenant receu son accomplissement et perfection : et l'histoire naturele des animaux, des plantes, de la pierrerie, et des métaulx en a esté de beaucoup augmentée. Plusieurs belles choses que les anciens avoient plustost conclues par ratiotination, que congneues par expérience, en ont esté confermées, comme qu'il y a des antipodes ; et ce qu'à peine eust-on osé esperer qu'on peult y aller et venir, négotier, traffiquer et contracter avec eulx. Beaucoup d'erreurs invétérées en ont aussi esté convaincues, comme que la terre entre les deux tropiques fust

* There are two MS. narratives entitled "*La Reprinsse de la Floride*," preserved in the Bibliotheque Imperiale, Paris. With trifling variations, the above narrative is identical with the DE GOURGUE MS. in the possession of VICOMTE DE GOURGUE's family.

inhabitable, stérile et brulée: où elle s'est trouvée très peuplée et plus fertile et tempérée qu'elle n'est ès régions mesmes que jusques icy ont eu la réputation et le nom de tempérées.

C'este descouverte aiant esté faicte par Christoffe Colomb genevois en l'an mil quatre cens quatre-vingts et douze, les princes qui pour lors en furent les premiers advertiz et qui en estoient les plus près, envoierent tout aussi tost chacun en son endroict pour s'emparer de ce pays le plus qu'ils pourroient, et jouir seulz ou les premiers des grandes richesses dont on leur avoit foict rapport, lesquelles ont depuis surmonté leur expectation et celle de tous les hommes. Mais ce pays estant si grand comme nous avons dit tout ce qu'ils ont peu faire c'a esté d'en avoir une grande partie, et decouvrir les meilleurs endroictz pour s'y arrester, et y peupler. Et après en avoir occupé aultant qu'ils ont peu, il est resté du pais encores plus que tous les princes de l'Europe n'en pourroient tenir. En ce pais vuide et non occupé par eulx estoit la Floride. Au commencement du regne du roi Charles IX. à présent régnant que les François y allèrent et en prinnrent possession pour le Roy y érigeant deux collonnes de pierre avec la devise de sa majesté. Et y aians basti ung fort sur la rivière de May près de la mer, et s'y estans accomodez de maisons pour le nombre qu'ils estoient, y commanderent au gré mesmes des Indiens jusques en l'an mil cinq cens soixante-quatre, que les Espaignols jaloux de ce que les François vouloient part en ce nouveau monde, se delibérèrent d'exccuter sur eulx en trahison ce qu'ils n'espéroient pouvoir faire en gens de bien. Et sous coulleur de la paix et alliance qui estoit entre les rois tres chrestien et catholique, estans descenduz à la coste de la Floride avec grand nombre de navires au mois de septembre dudit an 1564, demandent à parler au cappitaine Jehan Ribault, lieutenant du roy, et nouvellement arrivé en ce pais de la Floride avec puissance et commission de sa majesté, lequel estant venu à eulx à la bonne foy est massacré par eulx traitreusement et cruellement avec toute sa compagnie, puis ces traistres et meurtriers vont vistement trouver les autres François qui estoient au tour du fort en peu de nombre, ne se doubans d'aucune trahison, et les tuent, entrent dans le fort et s'en emparent, et quand ils ne trouvent plus d'hommes se jectent sur les pauvres femmes, et après avoir par force et violence abusé de la pluspart, les assoment toutes et couppent la gorge aux petits enfans indifféramment. Or, il faut noter que quant ils se veirent au dessus des François, ils en prinnrent en vie le plus qu'ils peurent, et les aiant gardez trois jours sans leur rien donner à manger et les aiant fait endurer tous les tourmens et toutes les mocqueries dont ils se peurent adviser, ils les pendirent à des arbres qui estoient aupres du fort. Mesmes ils escorchèrent le lieutenant du roy, et en envoierent la peau au roy

d'Espagne, arrachèrent les yeux qu'ils avoient meurtris, et les aiant fîchez à la pointte, de leurs dagues faisoient entre eulx à qui plus loing les jetteroit.

Les nouvelles de ce cruel massacre estans apportees en France, les François furent merueilleusement outrez d'une si lasche trahison et d'une si détestable cruauté ; et principalement quant ils entendirent que les traistres et meurtriers en lieu d'estre blasmez et punis en Espagne, y estoient louez et honnrez des plus grands estats et honneurs. Tous les François s'attendoient qu'une telle injure faicte au roy et à toute la nation françoise seroit bien-tost vengée par autorité publique : mais ceste attente les aiant frustrez l'espace de trois ans, ils souhaictoient qu'il se trovast quelque particulier qui enterprist un acte si nécessaire pour le honneur et réputation de la France. Il n'y avoit celuy qui n'eust bien voulu avoir la louange d'avoir parachevé une telle entreprise ; mais il y avoit tant de difficultez et si grandes que l'amertume d'icelles degoustoit un chacun de la doulceur de ceste louange ; la chose ne se pouvoit faire sans une grande despence, tant pour la construction et équipage des navires, que pour les armes, vivres et paiement des hommes de guerre et mariniers qu'il y falloit ; peu de gens peuvent, moins encores veullent faire de si grands fraiz ; davantage l'événement pour infinies considerations en estoit fort incertain, hazardeux et périlleux, et qui pis est, on ne voioit point que ceste entreprise estant mesmes conduite et executée sagement et heureusement peust estre exempte de quelque calomnie. Ainsi il estoit fort difficile de trouver qui voulust racheter ceste calomnie avec la perte de ses biens, et avec une infinité d'autres incommoditez et périls. Touttefois le cappitaine Gourgue gentilhomme gascon, incité du zèle qu'il a tousjours eu au service de son roy, où il s'est continuelement employé dès son jeune aage tant en France qu'en Ecosse, Piémont et Italie, selon que les affaires se sont présentez soit par mer ou par terre, fermant les yeulx à toutes ces difficultez qu'il prévoioit bien, entreprit d'executer ceste si juste vengeance, ou de mourir à la poursuite.

Le cappitaine Gourgue doncq au commencement de l'année mil cinq cens soixante sept voiant que son service n'estoit requis de par deça le royaume estant paisible dedans et dehors, et n'y aiant encores aucune apparence des guerres civiles qui se renouvelerent neuf mois après, resolut d'aller à la Floride, tenter s'il pourroit venger l'injure faicte au roy et à toute la France. Et encores qu'il commençast à faire ses préparatifz dès le commencement de l'année, toutes-fois il ne fut prest à partir jusques au mois d'aoust. C'estoit une execution qui ne consistoit pas seulement en vertu et experience, mais (comme nous avons dit) elle requeroit aussi une grande despence, à laquelle le revenu d'un simple gentilhomme ne pouvoit suffire, et de luy moins que de tout autre, qui toute sa

vie s'est estudié plus à acquérir honneur et réputation qu'à amasser des biens de fortune. Par quoy se trouvant court de ce costé-là il vent son bien et emprunte de ses amis tant pour faire bastir, armer et équiper deux petites navires en forme de roberge et une patache en façon de frégatte de Levant, qui à faulte de vent peussent voguer à rame, et feussent propres pour entrer en la bouche des grandes rivières, qu'aussi pour achapter la provision d'une année de vivres et autres choses nécessaires pour les hommes de guerre et mariniers qu'il entendoit mener. Et aiant fait toutes ces choses et bien pourveu à tout, il s'embarqua à Bourdeaux le second jour d'aoust, avec permission de monsieur de Montluc lieutenant pour le roy en Guyenne (toutefois son congé ne faisoit mention d'aller à la Floride, mais d'aller à la coste du Benin en Afrique faire la guerre aux negres), et descend le long de la rivière à Royan à vingt lieues de Bourdeaux, où il fait sa monstre, tant de soldats que de mariniers. Il y avoit cent harquebouziers aians tous harquebouze de calibre et morrion en teste, dont plusieurs estoient gentishommes, et quatre vingtz mariniers qui au besoing sçavoient bien faire l'office de soldats, aussi avoit-il des armes propres pour eulx comme arbalestre, piques et toutes sorte de long bois. Après la monstre faicte, le cappitaine Gourgue donne le rendezvous accoustumé en telles expéditions. Mais ainsi qu'il estoit prest à partir, se leve ung vent contraire qui le contrainct de séjourner huit jours à Rojan, ce vent estant ung peu remis il se meit sur mer pour faire voile ; mais bien-tost après il fut repoussé vers la Rochelle, et ne pouvant mesmes estre à la radde de la Rochelle pour la violence du temps, il fut contrainct de se retirer à la bouche de la Charente et séjourner là huit jours à quoy il avoit grand regret pour les vivres qui se consomment, et pour la crainte qu'il avoit que ses gens ne prissent ce retardement pour ung mauvais presage, et n'en perdissent l'allégresse qu'il y avoit trouvée du commencement.

Le vingt-deuxiesme jour d'aoust, le vent estant cessé, et le ciel donnant apparence d'un plus doux temps pour l'advenir, il se remect sur mer et fait voile, le temps ne luy est guères propice, et avec grande difficulté il parvient au cap de Finibus-Terræ, où de rechef il fut assailly du vent ouest, qui souffla par l'espace de huit jours pendant lesquels il fut en grand danger de naufrage, et en toutes les peines du monde pour ses gens qui le prièrent instamment de s'en retourner. La navire où estoit son lieutenant s'esgara et ne peust-on sçavoir de quinze jours si elle estoit sauve ou périé. A la parfin elle se rendit au lieu du rendezvous, qui estoit en la rivière de Lor en Barbarie, où le cappitaine Gourgue l'attendoit : lequel faict icy reposer et rafraischir ses gens si travaillez et recreuz qu'ils n'en pouvoient plus, il les console et conforte par tous les moiens dont il se pouvoit adviser ; et quant il les a bien remis et rassurez, il faict lever les ancrs, et

costoiant une partie de l'Afrique reconnoit le pais en passant, pour y pouvoir mieux faire service à sa majesté, si la commodité se presentoit quelquefois. Et comme il séjournoit au cap Blanc pour faire peu à peu accoustumer l'air à ses gens, et par ce moien les entretenir en santé, trois roys de nègres les viennent assaillir suscitez par les Portugois qui ont ung chasteau à dix lieues de là, n'osans y venir eulx-mesmes. Ces nègres sont si bien receuz par deux fois qu'ils n'y veullent retourner pour la troisième, et abandonnent le port au cappitaine Gourgue : lequel toutefois bien-tost après partit de là et costoiant encore l'Afrique yint surgir au cap Vert ; de là prenant la route des Indes il singla en haute mer ; et aiant traversé la mer de Nort, la première terre où il aborda fut une isle appelée la Dominique habitée de sauvaiges seulement, où il demeura huit jours pour les bonnes eaues qui s'y trouvoient. Après lequel temps poursuivant ses erres il vint à une autre isle qu'on appelle Saint-Germain de Portorrique, que les Espagnols tiennent où ils trouvèrent d'une sorte de figues fort grosses et longues qui naissent es buissons, elles sont vertes et espineuses par dehors et rouges au dedans comme escarlatte. Ils en mangèrent sous l'assurance d'un qui avoit esté à la Floride du temps que les François y commandoient que le cappitaine Gourgue menoit avec soy pour luy servir de trompette et de truchement, elles sont ung peu aigrettes, au reste de fort bon goust, et desaltèrent fort. Mais quant on en a mangé une demie douzaine elles font uriner à force et rendent l'eau rouge comme leur dedans est rouge. Nos gens pensoient faire du sang et estre morts, et crioient contre le trompette qui se rioit d'eulx, et comme on se vouloit ruer sur luy, il les assura qu'il n'y avoit aucun danger, et que c'estoit le naturel de ce fruit de colorer ainsi l'urine sans faire aucun mal n'y apporter aucun dommage. Partans de là, ils vinrent à la Monne, isle non habitée que de sauvaiges, fort fertile et plantureuse, où entre autres fruits on trouva des plus beaulx et meilleurs oranges, citrons, et melons qu'on eust jamais mangé, et d'une sorte de figues longues de demy-pied en forme de cocombres, aians la peau verte et le dedans jaulne fort bonnes à manger qu'on appelle platanes à la mode du pais. On y use aussi d'une espèce de racine semblable à des naveaux, laquelle cuite à l'eau ou sur la brée h'a le goust de chataignes cuittes, les gens du pais l'appellent patattes. Les habitans y sont bonnes gens et fort simples, leur roy vint veoir les navires du cappitaine Gourgue et y passa deux nuicts : puis le mena en terre veoir ses jardins, et sa maison faicte en forme de caverne et sa fontaine qu'il appelloit paradis, dans ung creux de rocher fort profond, où l'on descendoit par degrez, et disoit que l'eau de ceste fontaine guérissoit des fiebvres. Au partir de ceste ysle, le roy donna une grande quantité de fruitz au cappitaine Gourgue, en recompence de quelque toile pour faire des

chemises que le cappitaine Gourgue luy avoit donnée, dont ils n'ont l'usage par delà.

Au partir de là, il alla costoyer la terre ferme vers le cap de la Belle, pour tousjours découvrir pais, dont le vent contraire les repoulsa, et les jetta à l'isle Espagnolle autrement appelée St. Dominique, que est pour le jourd'huy habitée des Espagnols seulement, après qu'ils ont saict mourir tous les Indiens naturels qu'ils y avoient trouvez, qui estoient plus d'un million ; car, ou ils les ont tuez avec le cousteau, ou, pour le continuel travail qu'ils leur faisoient prandre, ès mines d'or et d'argent sans leur donner aucun relasche, et pour infiniz autres mauvais traictemens, ils les ont contraincts de se deffaire eulx-mesmes de leurs mains propres, ou de s'empoisonner, ou de se laisser mourir de faim, sans vouloir rien manger ; et mesmes les pauvres femmes indiennes ont esté reduites jusques à poulcer leur fruict hors de leur ventre avant le temps pour r'acheter par ce moien leurs enfans de la servitude des Espagnols-mesmes ; et ne les laisser venir en une vie pire que la mort.

Chose incroyable si les Espagnols-mesmes n'avoient escrit tout cecy de point en point en leurs histoires. Voilà comment ils ont converti les Indiens à la foy chrestienne dont ils se vantent : et toutefois ces pauvres Indiens estoient si docilles avant qu'avoir expérimenté la cruauté des Espagnols, lorsque Christophle Colomb y alla la première fois, que seullement à veoir faire les chrestiens, ils se mettoient à genoux d'eulx-mêmes, adoroient la croix, se frapportoient la poitrine et faisoient tous actes dévotion qu'ils voioient faire aux chrestiens, ausquels oultre tout cela ils servoient avec une promptitude incroyable, de quoy aussy rendent tesmoignage les Espagnols-mesmes en leurs histoires. En ceste isle donc ainsi tenue par les Espagnols, il n'estoit pas permis au cappitaine Gourgue prandre seulement de l'eau s'il ne l'avoit par force, lequel se trouva là en très grand dangier estant la mer agitée de tourmente horriblement et la terre luy estant encores plus ennemie, car les Espagnols enragent tout aussitost qu'ils veioient un François aux Indes, et encores que cent Espagnes ne pourroient fournir assez d'hommes pour tenir la centiesme partie d'une terre si large et espacieuse ; néantmoins il est advis aux Espagnols que ce nouveau monde ne fut jamais créé que pour eulx, et qu'il n'appartient à homme vivant d'y marcher ou d'y respirer sinon à eulx seuls : toutefois le cappitaine Gourgue contrainct, s'arresta là attendant que la mer fust apaisée, s'assurant qu'il se deffendrait plus aisément des Espagnols que des vents et de la tempeste. Autour de ceste isle et d'autres prochaines ils trouvoient des tortues si grandes que la chair d'une suffisoit à plus de soixante personnes pour ung repas, et la coquille pourroit servir de targe au plus grand homme qui soit, qui au reste est si dure qu'à

bien grand peine une pistolle la pourroit percer. Ces tortues demeurent le jour en la mer, et la nuit paissent en terre, et font leurs œufz en une fosse dedans le sablon mille ou douze cents chacune : aussi bons à manger qu'œufz de poule, il en fut prise une entre autres, qui aiant quatre soldats sur soy ne laissoit pourtant à chemyner.

La mer estant devenue calme, le cappitaine Gourgue part de là, et va surgir au cap de Saint-Nicolas, où il fait calestrer sa navire que la tempeste avoit ouverte, dont luy advint la perte de tout le pain qui estoit dedans pour ce qu'il s'estoit mouillé, et peu s'en fallut que tout le reste qui estoit en ceste navire ne fust perdu, et la navire-mesme. Mais elle arriva tout à temps au cap de Saint Nicolas, où elle fut si bien réparée que oncques depuis n'en advint faulte. Ceste perte de pain fut au cappitaine Gourgue et à sa compagnie ung dommage inestimable, car il fallut retrancher les vivres de moitié, et celuy qui auparavant mangeoit deux biscuits le jour n'en prenoit qu'ung. Et les isles par où il falloit passer après estoient tenues par les Espaignols, comme l'isle de Coube qu'ils trouvèrent la première estans partiz du cap de Saint-Nicolas, en la quelle les Espaignolz ne voulurent jamais bailler des vivres pour des toiles de Rouen, ny pour autres choses qu'à ceste fin le cappitaine Gourgue avoit portées au cas que sa provision luy defaillist. Ils ne vouloient pas seulement permettre qu'on print de l'eau ; mais on en prenoit malgré eulx. Environ ceste isle se leva ung vent le plus violent et impétueux qu'ils eussent point encores eu ; mais il ne dura que six heures. Que s'il eust esté de plus longue durée, c'estoit fait d'eulx ; car il les gectoit à la coste ; où leurs navires s'alloient perdre, et eulx quant et quant.

Le cap de Saint-Anthoine est au bout de l'isle de Coube où ils vindrent surgir bien-tost après que la tempeste fut passée, loing de la Floride environ deux cents lieuës de mer. Icy le cappitaine Gourgue aiant assemblé tous ses gens, leur déclare ce qu'il leur avoit teu jusques-là, comment il avoit entrepris ce voiage pour aller à la Floride vanger sur les Espaignols l'injure qu'ils avoient faite au roy et à toute la France, s'excuse de ce qu'il ne leur a communiqué son entreprise plustost : leur ouvre les moiens par lesquels il espéroit venir au bout de son desseing ; les enhorte et prie de les suivre d'aussi bon cueur comme il l'a espéré d'eulx lors qu'il les a choisiz d'entre plusieurs, comme les plus propres à une telle execution. Il leur met au devant la trahison et la cruauté de ceulx qui avoient massacré les François, et la honte que c'estoit d'avoir si longtemps laissé impuny ung acte si meschant et malheureux. Il leur propose l'honneur et l'aisé qui leur reviendra d'un si bel acte ; bref il les anime si bien qu'encores que du commencement ils trouvassent la chose presque impossible pour le peu

de gens qu'ils estoient, et pour estre ceste coste des plus dangereuses qui soient en toutes les Indes ; neantmoins ils promirent ne l'abandonner point, et de mourir avec luy, mesme les gens de guerre devindrent si ardens qu'à peine pouvoient-ils attendre la pleine lune pour passer le canal de Bahame qui est fort dangereux et les pillotes et mariniers qui estoient froids du commencement furent bien tost eschauffez par ceste ardeur des soldats. La lune donc estant pleine, ils entrent au canal de Bahame, et bien-tost après ils descouvrent la Floride.

Quand les Espaignols qui estoient au fort veoient les navires du cappitaine Gourgue, ils les saluent de deux coups de canon pensant que ce feussent des Espaignols. Le cappitaine Gourgue, pour les entretenir en ceste erreur leur respond de mesmes, et faisant semblant d'aller ailleurs passa oultre jusques à ce que la nuit fust venue, et qu'il eust perdu la Floride de veüe. Quant la nuit est venue il tourneu voile, et vient descendre à quinze lieuës du fort où les Espaignols ne pouvoient rien descouvrir, devant une rivière que les sauvaiges appellent *Tacalcourou*, qui est aussi le com du roy de ce pais, les François luy avoient donné le nom de Seine pour ce qu'elle ressemble à nostre Seine.

Aussy-tost qué le jour est venu, le cappitaine Gourgue estant à la radde, voit, que la rive de la mer est toute bordée de sauvaiges armez de leurs ares et flesches pour l'empescher de prandre terre pensant qu'il fust Espaignol. Le cappitaine Gourgue qui avoit bien préveu ceci en son esprit, avoit aussi advisé de faire en sorte qu'il ne fust point empesché ains aidé par eulx, et pourtant il faict tous signes d'amitié, et envoie vers eulx son trompette qui leur estoit bien congneu, et scavoit bien parler leur langage pour avoir conversé avec eulx lorsque les François y estoient et qu'ils y bastirent le fort. Tout aussitost qu'ils eurent recongneu le trompette, ils commencèrent à danser qui est ung signe ordinaire de joye entre eulx, et luy demandèrent pourquoy il avoit tant tardé à retourner vers eulx. Il respond qu'il n'avoit term à luy qu'il ne fust retourné plus-tost ; mais je n'eusse perevenir en seureté (dist-il) jusques à présent que voicy des François qui sont venuz ici pour renouveler leur amitiés avecques vous et vous apportent des choses de la France qui vous sont les plus nécessaires, et que vous aymez le mieulx. Ils commencèrent à danser plus que devant : et leur plus grand roi nommé Satiroua envia avec le trompette ung de ses gens vers le cappitaine Gourgue, pour luy offrir ung chevreuil, et s'enguester plus avant de l'occasion de sa venue. Le cappitaine Gourgue respond à celuy qui luy avoit esté envoyé, qu'il remerciast le roy Satiroua et l'asseurast que ce que le trompette luy avoit dit estoit vray, qu'il n'estoit là venu que pour s'associer avec luy et avec les autres roys, et leur donner des belles choses qui se faisoient en France

dont ils avoient faulte par delà. Il ne vouloit rien dire de son enterprise plus avant, jusques à ce qu'il eust veu qu'il n'y eust aucun Espagnol parmy eulx, et sondé le cueur des sauvaiges, et advisé comme le tout alloit. Les sauvaiges après avoir ouy ceste responce se prennent à danser plus que par avant. Et quelque temps après renovoierent au cappitaine Gourgue, pour luy dire qu'ils s'en alloient advertir tous les rois, parens et alliez du roy Satiroua, qu'ils eussent à eulx trouver le lendemain en ce lieu pour s'associer avecques les François ; à quoy ils ne servient faulte, et ainsi s'en allerent pour ce jour là. Or pendant toutes ces allées et venues, le cappitaine Gourgue avoit envoyé son pilote pour sonder l'entrée de la rivière : et avoit entendu de luy qu'elle estoit aisée ; par quoy il entre en la rivoir plus facilement traicter avec les sauvaiges.

Le lendemain vindrent au mesme lieu le grand roy Satiroua, les roys Tacata-courou, Halianacani, Atoré, Harpaha, Helmacapé, Helicopile, Monloua et autres ; tous parens et alliez du roy Satiroua. Quand ils furent venuz ils envoièrent prier le cappitaine Gourgue de descendre, ce qu'il fait accompagné de ses soldats portans leurs harqubouzes. Quand les roys veirent venir les François armez ils eurent quelque frayeur, et feirent dire au cappitaine Gourgue pour quoy venoit-il à eulx armé, attendu qu'ils vouloient s'associer avec luy ? Il leur respondit qu'il les voioit avec leurs armes, et qu'il portoit les siennes. Tout aussi-tost ils commanderent à leurs subjects de poser leurs arcs et flèches, et les feirent enlever à gros faisceaux et les porter chez eux : et le cappitaine Gourgue fait poser les harqebouzes à ses gens et retenir les espées, et ainsi s'en va trouver le roy Satiroua, qui luy vient au devant, et le fait seoir à son costé droict en ung siège de bois de lantisque couvert de mousse qu'il luy fait faire semblable au sien. Quand eux deux furent assis, deux des plus anciens d'entr'eulx vindrent arracher les ronces et toute l'herbe qui estoit devant eulx, et après avoir bien nettoyé la place tous s'assirent à terre en rond. Et comme le cappitaine Gourgue vouloit parler, le roy Satiroua (qui n'est point façonné à la civilté de par deçà) le devança, luy disant que depuis que les Espagnols avoient prins le tort basti par les François, la Floride n'avoit jamais eu ung bon jour, et que les Espagnolz leur avoient fait la guerre continuellement, les avoient chassey de leurs maisons, avoient coupé leurs mills, avoient violé leurs femmes, ravy leurs filles, tué leurs petits enfans, et encores que luy et les autres rois eussent souffert tous ces maulx, à cause de l'amitiés qu'ils avoient contractée avec les François, par qui la terre avoit esté habitée premièrement ; toutefois ils n'avoient jamais cessé d'aymer les François, pour le bon traictement qu'ils en avoient reçu lors qu'ilz y commandoient. Que après le massacre que les Espagnols avoient fait des François, il avoit trouve ung enfant qui s'en estoit

fuy dans les bois, lequel il avoit tousjours depuis nourry comme son enfant prompt ; que les Espaignols avoient faict tout ce qui estoit possible pour l'avoir affin de le tuer, mais il l'avoit tousjours gardé pour le rendre quelque jour aux François, quand ils viendroient à la Floride, et puis que vous estes icy (dist-il au cappitaine Gourgue) teney, je vous le rends. Le cappitaine Gourgue très aise de ce qu'il trouvoit les Indiens si bien disposez pour l'exécution de son desseing, et mesmes de ce que le roy Satiroua estoit de luy mesmes entré le premier au propos des Espaignols, le remercia bien affectueusement de la bonne amitié qu'il portoit aux François, et particulièrement de ce qu'il avoit conservé ce jeune homme, les prie tous de persévérer tousjours en ceste bonne affection ; leur proposant la grandeur et la bonté du roy de France. Quand aux Espaignols que le temps s'approchoit qu'ilz seroient punis des maux qu'ils avoient commis tant contre les Indiens que contre les François, et si les rois et leurs subjects avoient esté maltraictez en haine des François que aussi seroient-ils vengez par les François-mesmes. Comment ? dist Satiroua, tressaillant d'aise, voudriez-vous bien faire la guerre aux Espaignols ? Et que vous en semble-t-il ? (dist le cappitaine Gourgue dissimulant son affection et son enterprise pour les mettre en jeu quant et soy). Il est temps murhoy de venger l'injure qu'ils ont faite à nostre nation : mais pour ceste heure je ne m'estois proposé que de renouveller nostre amitié avecques vous et veoir comme les choses se passeroient par deça pour revenir incontinent après contre eulx, avec telles forces que je verrois estre besoing : touteffois quand j'entends les grands maux qu'ilz vous ont faicts, et font tous les jours, j'ay compassion de vous, es me prend envie de leur courir sus, sans plus attendre, pour vous délivrer de leur oppression plustost huy que demain. Hélas, (dist Satiroua) le grand bien que vous nous feriez ! he que nous serions heureux ! Tous les autres s'escrièrent de mesmes. Je pense (dist le cappitaine Gourgue) que vous seriez volontiers de la partie, et ne voudriez que les François eussent tout l'honneur de vous avoirs délivrez de la tirrannie des Espaignols. Ouy, dist Satiroua, nous, et nos subjects irons avecques vous, et mourrons quantetvous si besoing est. Les autres roys firent aussi pareille responce. Le cappitaine Gourgue qui avoit trouvé ce qu'il chercheoit, les louë et remercie grandement, et pour battre le fer pendant qu'il estoit chault leur dist : Voire-mais si nous vouldons leur faire la guerre, il faudroit que ce fust incontinent. Dans combien de temps pourriez-vous bien avoir assemblé vos gens prêts à marcher ? Dans trois jours dist Satiroua, nous et nos subjects pourrons nous rendre icy, pour partie avec vous. Et ce pendant, (dist le cappitaine Gourgue) vous donnerez bon ordre que le tout soit tenu secret : affin que les Espaignols n'en puissent sentir le vent. Ne vous soulciez, dirent les rois,

nous leur voullons plus de mal que vous. Et voiant le cappitaine Gourgue que les fondemens de son enterprise estoient jectez assez bien et heureusement, pensa qu'il ne falloit différer plus long-temps à ces bonnes gens ce qu'il leur vouloit donner ; et commence à leur deppartir de ce qu'il avoit laict porter à ceste fin expressément, choses dont nous ne faisons point de cas par deça pour l'habondance tant de la matière que des maistres qui en scavent faire ; et pour y estre accoustumey de tout temps. Mais eulx à qui ces choses sont nouvelles, et qui n'ont n'y matière, ny artisans pour en faire, les estiment infiniment comme cousteaux, dagues, hachez, cizeaux, poinçons, esguillettes, bources, miroirs, sonnets, patenostres, de voire et autres telles choses. Et après leur en avoir départi à tous selon ce qu'il pouvoit juger de la qualité et mérites d'un chacun : il dist au roy Satiroua, et aux autres rois : Advisez s'il y a quelqu'autre chose que vous veuilliez avoir ; ne l'espargnez point. Eulx, encore qu'ils fussent plus que contens de ce qu'ils avoient des-jà ; toutefois voians la bonne volanté du cappitaine Gourgue, respondent. qu'ils vouldroient bien avoir chacun une de ses chemises, lesquelles ils demandoient non pour les vestir si ce n'est quelquefois par grande singularité, mais pour après leur trespass les faire enterrer avec eulx, comme aussi ils font de toutes les plus belles choses qu'ils ont peu amasser en leur vie. Le cappitaine Gourgue, tout aussi-tost en donna une à chacun des rois, y adjoustant encores tout ce qui luy vint à la main qu'il pensa leur pouvoir estre agréable. Le roy Satiroua qui avoit deux cordes de grain d'argent au col, en donna l'eune au cappitaine Gourgue, les autres roys luy donnèrent des peaulx de cerf accoustrées à la mode du pais.

Pendant que les sauvaiges s'amusoient à leurs présens, le cappitaine Gourgue qui ne pensoit à aultre chose qu'à exécuter son entreprise et ne vouloit perdre une minute de temps, interroge le jeune homme François que le roy Satiroua luy avoit donné, et entendit de luy comme les Espaignols pouvoient estre environ quatre cens de nombre : et comment ils avoient basti deux petis forts à l'entrée de la rivière de May oultre le grand fort que les François avoient basti sur la mesme rivière une lieue au dessus. Ce jeune homme estoit natif du Havre-de Grâce, de l'aage de seize ans, nommé Pierre Debré, lequel pour l'intelligence et usaige qu'il avoit des deux langues a esté forte utile au cappitaine Gourgue en ce voiage : au retour duquel il a esté rendu à ses parens. Le cappitaine Gourgue, délibérant d'envoyer reconnoistre les forts, dist au roy Satiroua : Dans trois jours comme vous m'avez dit, vous serez de retour icy avec vos subjects. Dans pareil temps pourront aussi estre revenuz ceulx que renverroieray pour reconnoistre les ennemis ; mais pour les guider il est besoin de quelqu'un de vos gens homme fidelle et seur. Le roy Satiroua tout aussytost baille un sien

nepveu nommé Olotoraca homme fort vaillant et loyal, en la conduite duquel ung gentilhomme Commingeoyz nommé Estampes avec deux autres, s'en vont reconnoistre les forts. Après que le cappitaine Gourgue eust pais des ostages du roy Satiroua pour ceulx qu'il envoiat sous sa parole, qui luy furent baillez tout aussitost que demandez. Je vous bailleray mon fils unique, dist Satiroua, et celle de mes femmes que j'ayme le mieulx, affin que vous congnoissiez que nous ne sommes point menteurs n'y traistres, comme sont ces Espaignols, qui nous trompent tousjours, et ne font rien de ce qu'ils nous promettent. Le cappitaine Gourgue est bien aise de ce que ses affaires s'acheminent si bien, et pour envoyer les sauvaiges, à ce que plustost ils feussent de retour, il leur dist : Ils vous ont bien faict du mal les meschans, mais nous en aurons la raison à ceste fois et affin que nous les puissions mieux attraper, je vous prie ne tarder plus que des trois jours que m'avez dit, et tenir le cas bien secret, ce que le roy Satiroua, et tous les autres promirent de faire et sur cela ils s'en allèrent chez eulx dansans et saultans d'aise, et le cappitaine Gourgue se retira en ses navires avec ses ostages ; le fils du roy estoit tout nud comme aussi sont tous les autres hommes ; la femme du roy estoit vestue de mousse d'arbre aagée d'environ dixhuict ans. Ils furent trois jours ès navires du cappitaine Gourgue, attendaut que l'on feust retourné de reconnoistre les forts, et à trois jours de la presqu'à mesme heure, voicy d'un costé le gentilhomme Commingeoyz qui faict son rapport de ce qu'il avoit veu, et d'autre costé les rois avec bon nombre de leurs subjects, bien armez d'arcs et de flesches, tous prêts à marcher.

Avant que partir de là, les sauvaiges feirent ung certain bruvage nommé par eulx cassive qu'ils ont accoustumé de prendre touteffois et quantes qu'ils vont pour combattre en lieu où il y du danger. Ce breuvage faict de certaine herbe et beu tout chault les garde d'avoir faim ni soif pai l'espace de vingt-quatre heures ; ils présentèrent premièrement au cappitaine Gourgue, qui feit semblant d'en boire, et n'en avalla point, puis le roy Satiroua en print et après luy tous les autres chacun selon son degré. Cela faict avec plusieurs ceremonies, ils levant tous la main, jurent et promettent qu'ils feront leur devoir de bien combattre, et qu'ils n'abandonneront le cappitaine Gourgues.

Avant que tout ceci fust faict, la plus part du jour s'estoit passee. Néantmoing on n'arresta de partir ce jour mesmes, et dirent les sauvages qu'ils chemineroient bien toute nuit, priant le cappitaine Gourgue de les faire mettre de là la rivière de Tacatacourou avec ses vaisseaulx, car le lieu où estoient les Espaignols estoit de là la rivière.

Le cappitaine Gourgue, les voyant ainsi déliberez, leur assigne un lieu selon qu'il pouvoit juger par le rapport qu'on luy avoit faict pour s'y rendre tous

ensemble ; qui fut à la bouche d'une rivière nommée par eux *Halimacani*, et par les François qui avoient harbité le pais estoit appelée la Somme, puis il les fait tous mettre de là la rivière, excepté Olotoraca le neveu du roy qu'il retint avec soy pour guide, qui oncques depuis ne l'habandonna. Et pour ce que son arc ne luy avoit esté r'apporté depuis qu'il fut porté au village avec les autres, il demanda des armes, et lors luy fut baillée une picque de laquelle il se sceut bien ayder contre les Espagnols. Quand les sauvages eurent passé la rivière, le capitaine Gourgue commença à enhorter ses gens, leur remonstrer la bonne disposition des sauvages, et l'ardeur dont ils marchioient contre les Espagnols, s'asseyant qu'ils feroient d'autant mieux que leur nourriture et education, leur police et religion est meilleure que celle de ces povres sauvages, et comme il vouloit continuer, ils se prindrent à crier, Allons, allons : comme ceulx qui y eussent voullu estre desjà, et qui estoient tous résolus d'y mourrir. A donc le cappitaine Gourgue, avec tous ses soldats et soixante mariniers s'en va par mer en deux barques qu'il avoit oultre les trois navires, la garde desquelles avec le reste des navires il laissa à François Lague Bourdelois, patron et maistre de sa navire, homme aussi expérimenté au falc de la marine qu'il en soit de ce temps, lui recommandant de les bien faire recalfeutrer et de tenir le tout prest pour eulx en retourner au plustost si Dieu leur donnoit bon succez ; que si Dieu veult (dist-il) que je meure à une poursuite si juste, je vous laisse tout ce que j'ay icy et vous prie de reconduire et remener mes soldats en France, comme je me fie de vous, et en disant cela luy bailla les clefs de ses bahutz et de tout ce qu'il avoit là. Cecy attendrist fort le cueur de tous, et mesmement des mariniers qui demeureoient pour la garde des navires, lesquels ne peurent contenir leurs larmes, et fut ceste départie plaine de compassion d'ouïr tant d'adieux d'une part et d'aulture, et tant de charges et recommandations de la part de ceulx qui s'en alloient à leurs parents et amis, et à leurs femmes et alliez au cas qu'ils ne retourmassent. Car, au partir de leur pais, ils ne pensoient aller à la Floride comme dit a esté, et cependant parmy tout cela vous eussiez admiré l'allégresse de ces gens ; lesquels encor' qu'ils pensassent aller à une mort presque certaine : toutefois ils ne craignoient sinon de n'y arriver assez à temps pour l'honneur qu'ils espéroient d'avoir seulement prétendu à ung si bel acte.

Quand ils furent à la bouche de la rivière de Halimancani où les sauvages les attendoient, qui estoit environ la pointe du jour, le vent de nord-est commença à souffler si fort qu'il s'en fallut bien peu qu'ils ne périssent, et cela apporta tel retardement que les sauvages ne peuvent de ce jour là passer la rivière ; toutefois le capitaine Gourgue la passa à grand' difficulté environ les huit heures du matin, et laissant là ung de ses vaisseaux pour les aider à passer, print son

chemin par terre pour les aller attendre à la rivière de Sarabay qui estoit à quatre lieues de là. Mais le chemin se trouva si mauvais, il y eut tant d'eauës et marescages à passer, tant de bois à traverser ; qu'à faire ces quatre lieues ilz furent depuis les huit heures de matin jusques à cinq heures du soir : le cappitaine Gourgue, aiant toujours son corps de cuirasse sur le doz, et ne trouvèrent rien à manger tout le jour, sinon quelques racines de palmiers sauvages, au moien de quoy ils estoient si las et se affamez qu'ils n'en pouvoient plus.

Quand ils furent à la rivière de Sarabay, ils y trouvèrent trois rois souvaiges qui les attendoient, conduisans chacun cent hommes. Or depuis ceste rivière de Garabay jusques au lieu où estoient les deux premiers forts, il y pouvoit avoir deux lieues. Le cappitaine Gourgue qui voioit que l'issue de son desseing consistoit en diligence et célérité, encores qu'il n'eust rien mangé de tout le jour, pour ce que les mariniers n'avoient encor conduit la barque, où il avoit faict mettre de ses provisions partant de la rivière de Tacatacourou ; toutefois il partit avec dix de ses harquebouziers et sa guide pour aller reconnoistre le premier fort, affin de l'assaillir le lendemain au matin. Ce chemin se trouva aussi fascheux et difficile que l'autre, la nuit estoit obscure et sombre, une petite rivière qui est joignant le fort, enflée (pour ce que la mer commençoit à monter) ne peut estre passée, de soite que le cappitaine Gourgue est contraint de s'en retourner à la rivière de Sarabay trouver ses gens, las du chemin et plus fasché de n'avoir rien faict. Ung des roys nommé Hilicopile les voiant retourné tout pensif demande au truchement en son langage : Qu'a ton roy ? Le truchement luy respond, qu'il estoit marri de ce qu'il n'avoit nu recongoistre le fort. Dis-luy dist Hilicopile, que je le meneray le long de la mer sans trouvex boue ny marest ; mais le chemin en est plus long. Le cappitaine Gourgue entendant cela, voulut que l'en y allast incontinant, et accompagné de ce roy Hilicopile ; part avec tous ses gens, et envoye les deux autres roys par le bois pour se trouver au matin au passaige de la petite rivière qu'il n'avoit peu passer tout joignant le premier fort, il faict haster ses gens et marche en grande diligence pour estre là à la poincte du jour avant qu'il nuisse estre apperça. Et ainsi que le jour commençoit à poindre, il arriva à ceste rivière que estoit grosse et enflée pour la mer qui estoit montée ; néantmoins il faict sonder le gué par quelques-uns de ses mariniers, qui trouvent qu'elle ne se peult passer, dont il est bien fasché ; car il estoit arrivé bien à point pour surprendre les Espaignols qui dormoient encores, et pourtant il se délibere de se retirer dans le bois tout joignant la rivière, attendant que la mer fust descendu, et tout aussi-tost les aller assaillir. A peine estoit il encores dans le bois qu'il commença à plouvoir si fort qu'ils dégouttoient de toutes parts, et les soldats eurent bien fort à faire à garder

leur feu. Le jour s'estant esclarci le cappitaine Gourgue voioit le fort à son aise du lieu où il estoit, et aiant bien regardé de costé et d'autre et recongneu le tout, il s'advisa qu'il n'y avoit que quelque commencement de fossez, et pourtant fut confirmé en la résolution qu'il avoit faicte entrant dedans le bois, de l'assaillir aussi-tost qu'il pourroit passer la rivière. Cependant il voioit les Espaignols qui travailloient dans le fort, qui le mettoit en quelque doute que sa venue ne fust découverte ; mais l'événement monstra qu'il ne se doubtoient de rien ; car après la prinse du fort on veit que c'estoit une fontaine à quoy ils travailloient.

Sur les dix heures la mer estant basse, il alla passer la rivière ung peu plus hault où il avoit veu ung petit bois entré la rivière et le fort, qui luy serviroit pour n'estre point apperceu tant à passer la rivière qu'à mettre ses gens en ordre, et pour ce que l'eau de la rivière passoit la ceinture, il commanda aux soldats de attacher leurs fournementz aux morrions, et prendre en l'une main leur harquebouze avec leur mesche, et l'épée en l'autre.

Et au passage de la rivière il y avoit si grande quantité d'huistres que les souliers des soldats en furent coupez et la pluspart d'eulx blessés aux pieds pour ce que les huistres sont la plus grandes et leurs escoilles plus trenchantés vue de celles que nous voions ordinairement par deça. Toutefois on ne fut pas plustost de là la rivière qu'ils remettent leurs armes et d'eulx-mesmes s'appresentent au combat. Le cappitaine Gourgue bailla vingt soldats à son lieutenant et dix mariniers portans pots et lances à feu pour mettre le feu à la porte, et derrière le petit bois où ilz ne pouvoient estre veuz, il renga ses gens en bataille et les voiant bien disposez et asseurez il conquest qu'il n'estoit besoing de grande exhortation : aussi le poinct, où il estoit, requérsit plustost une prompte execution qu'une longue harangue ; et partout il le fait court. Je veoy bien mes amis (dist-il) que le cueur vous croist au besoing, aussi vous ay-je choisiz pour telz, vostre contenance asseurée me prédit que nous vengerons aujourd'huy l'injure faicte au Roy et à nostre pais ; et leur montrant le fort qu'ils pouvoient entrevoir à travers les arbres, voila (dist-il) les volleurs qui ont vollé ceste terre à nostre roy, voilà les meurtriers qui ont massacré nos françois. Allons, allons, revenchons nostre roy, revenchons la France, montrons-nous François ; et aussy-tost il commande à son lieutenant de donner à la porte avec sa troupe, et luy avec la sienne va contre une terrasse enforme de plateforme, fort basse qui estoit à costé du fort, où il n'y avoit qu'ung petit commencement de fossez. Les Espaignolz ne faisoient que venir de disner et curvoient encores leurs dentz quand nos gens marchans à grandz pas, la teste baissée furent apperceuz, à deux cens pas du fort, par le canonnier

qui venoit de monter sur ceste terrasse, lequel se meit incontinent à crier en espagnol, arme, arme, voicy des François, voicy des François ; et quant et quant deslache sur eulx une rosse coullerrine, qui estoit sur la trasse et en tira par deux fois, et comme il vouloit charger pour la troisieme Olotoraca plus viste à la course que nul autre, et qui n'estoit instruit à garder son renz, s'avança et monta sur la terrasse qui n'estoit gueres haulte et le transpercea de sa picque de part en part. Les Espagnols s'estans mis en armes au cri du cannonier, sortent hors le fort ou pour combattre, ou pour se retirer vers leurs compaignons selon ce qu'ils verroient quand ils seroient dehors. Le cappitaine Gourgue à leur sortie estoit arrivé tout à point au pied de la plateforme, et son lieutenant près de la porte, et comme il montoit à la plateforme son lieutenant s'escrie que Espagnols se sauvoient, et lors le cappitaine Gourgue retournant vistement vers la porte les enferme entre son lieutenant et luy, si bien que de soixante qu'ils estoient, il n'en es chappa pas ung qui ne fust mort ou pris, on en print en vie le plus qu'on peust par commandement du cappitaine Gourgue, pour leur faire comme ils avoient faict aux François.

Le premier fort ne fut pas plustost pris que l'on s'en va assaillir le second, lequel estoit de l'autre costé de la rivière de May vis à vis du premier pour s'entre secourir ; aussi ne cessa-t-il de tirer à grands coups de canon pendant qu'on prenoit le premier et incommodoit nos gens grandement : lesquels braquerent contre trois pièces d'artillerie qu'ils avoient trouvés dans le premier fort, et la coullevrine qui avoit esté trouvée sur la plateforme, qui estoit marquée tout au long des armoiries du feu Roy Henry, à quoy l'on congneut qu'elle avoit esté prise sur les François au temps du massacre, ce qui irrita encores plus nos françois, et de ces quatre pièces on ne cessa de tirer contre-eulz, pendant que le cappitaine Gourgue avec quartrevings harquebouziers passoient vistement la rivière en sa barque qu'on venoit de conduire là tout à point. Lequel va descendre enfre le fort et ung bois qu'il y avoit tout après. Se doubtant de ce qui advint que les Espagnols s'enfuïroient dans les bois pour puis après se retirer au grand fort qui estoit à une lieuë de là.

A peine le cappitaine Gourgue estoit de là la rivière quand les sauvaiges ne pouvant attendre qu'on leur r'amenast la barque pour passer saultent dans l'eauë et nageans d'un bras et tenans leurs arcs de l'autre couvrent tout la rivière de bord à autre. Les Espagnols qui estoient en nombre de soixante voians une si grande multitude et si délibérée, et pour l'estonnement dont ils estoient saizis ne discernants entre françois et sauvaiges, se cuidans sauver ès bois se vont précipiter entre les François qui dischargent sur eulx si dru que la pluspart en sont estenduz sur la place, les autres voulans tourner le dos se

trouvent enfermez par les sauvaiges. Aussi ne pouvans ne combattre, ny fuir ruent, les armes bas, et supplient pour la vie, qui leur est ostée plustost qu'ils n'ont achavé de la demander.

A grand peine le cappitaine Gourgue en peult faire garder quinze en vie pour leur estre faict selon ce qu'ilz avoient faict aux François. Après ceste depesche le cappitaine Gourgue entra au second fort, d'où il feit incontinent transporter tout cequ'il y avoit trouvé, et repassant la rivière avec ses prisonniers retourna au premier fort pour s'y fortifier ne sachant quel cueur auroient les autres, ny en combien de temps il pourroit venir à bout du grand fort qui estoit à une lieuë de là sur la mesme rivière du costé où estoit le second fort. Parmy les prisonniers qu'il tenoit il y avoit ung sergent de bande vieux soldat duquel il sceut la haulteur des remparts du grand fort, et le lieu par où il luy seroit plus aisé de le prandre.

Ces deux premiers forts furent pris la veille de Quasimodo 1568. Le cappitaine Gourgue séjourna le dimanche et le lundy : et cependant faict faire huit eschelles de la haulteur qui luy avoit esté monstrée, et ung pourtraict de tout le fort en quoy ce vieux soldats s'entendoit bien. Au reste il avoit si bien pourveu à son cas que tout le pais estoit levé en armes contre les Espaignolz, de sorte que ceux du grand fort n'avoient moien de sortir pour rien descouvrir, toutefois ils desguisèrent un Espagnol en sauvage, et l'envoierent le lundy pour reconnoistre quelles gens c'estoient et combien. Le cappitaine Gourgue estant à l'entour dudict fort avec Oloraca qui tousjours le suivoit, c'est Espagnol est recongneu par Oloraca, et quant et quant empoigné, il voulut faire le fin du commencement, disant qu'il estoit ung de ces soldats qui gardoient le premier fort qui ne s'estant peu retirer au grand fort pour la multitude des sauvaiges, s'estoit ainsi déguisé de peur d'estre troué par eulx et avoit mieux aymé se venir rendre à la mercy des François, qui se mettre en danger d'estre massacré par les sauvaiges, mais quand le sergent de bande qu'on fait venir tout incontinent luy eut maintenu qu'il estoit de la garde du grand fort, et espion, il confessa qu'il estoit envoyé par le Gouverneur du grand fort, pour scavoir qui estoit ce nouveau venir et quelles gens il avoit. Le cappitaine Gourgue luy demanda ce qu'on estimoit de luy au grand fort ; il respond que l'on avoit donné à entendre au Gouverneur qu'il avoit deux mil françois dont le Gouverneur et ses gens en nombre de deux cens soixante estoient si estonnez qu'ilz ne sçavoient ce qu'ils faisoient.

Le cappitaine Gourgue est bien aise de ces nouvelles et se délibere de les aller assillir le lendemain en cest effroy ; et de faict ce jour-là mesme il faict tous ses preparatifz, ordonne de ceulx qu'il devoit laisser pour la garde de la bouche

de la rivière et du fort, de quoy il donne la charge au cappitaine Mesmes son enseigne avec quinze harquebouziers. Et la nuit ensuivant il faict partir les sauvaiges pour s'aller embuscher dans le bois partie de çà partie de la rivière. Et le lendemain au matin il part avec ses gens menant avec soy le sergent de bande et l'espion attachez ensemble pour luy monstrier à l'œil ce qu'ils luy avoient dit de parole et faict veoir en paincture. En allant, Olotoraca, nepveu du roy Satiroua celuy qui avoit tué le canonnier au premier fort homme courageux et vaillant à merveilles dist au cappitaine Gourgue duquel il ne s'esloignoit jamais, qu'il l'avoit bien servi jusques là, et qu'il avoit faict tout ce qu'il luy avoit promis, qu'il scavoit bien qu'il mourroit à la prinse du grand fort, mais pour la vie il ne vouldroit faillir à s'y trouver, et vous prie, dist-il, de donner à ma femme ce que vous me donneriez à moy si je vivois; affin qu'elle l'enterre avec moy et que j'en sois mieux venu quand j'arriveray au village des esprits. Le cappitaine Gourgue dist qu'il aymoît mieux le récompenser et honorer vif que mort, et espéroit le ramener vivant et victorieux.

Cependant ils descouvrent le fort, et tout aussi-tost que les Espaignols les voient, ilz commencent à tirer sur eulx de deux doubles coullevrines qui estoient sur ung boulevart, qui commandoit le long de la rivière. Le cappitaine Gourgue gaigne vistement une montaigne couverte de bois et forests; au pied de laquelle estoit le fort, et qui s'estendoit depuis le lieu où il avoit esté apperceu, jusques de là le fort bien loing. Et au moien des arbres qui le couvroient il s'approcha du fort aussi près qu'il voulut sans pouvoir estre offensé, n'y veu. Il s'arresta en ung lieu d'où il pouvoit veoir à son aise dans le fort, et n'avoit intention de l'assaillir de ce jour là: mais de leur donner l'escalade le lendemain au matin du costé-mesmes de la montaigne, où le fossé n'estoit flanqué, et dont partie de ses gens pourroient battre ceulx qui vouldroient deffendre le rempart pendant que les autres monteroient. Mais il advint que les Espaignolz feirent une saillie de soixante harquebouziers pour recongnoistre ses forces, il les veoit ainsi qu'ils sortoient, et alloient courbez le long du fossé, et tout aussi-tost commanda à son lieutenant d'aller (avecq vingt harquebouziers) de l'autre costé se mettre entre le fort et eulx, et quand il veit son lieutenant en lieu d'où il pourroit les empescher de rentrer, il va droit à eulx, et commanda à ses gens de ne tirer qu'ils ne fussent fort près pour incontinent après avoir tiré mettre la main à l'espée. Quand les Espaignols furent hors du fossé prestz à entrer en la montaigne, le cappitaine Gourgue avec ses harquebouziers se trouvent au pied, qui les choisirent de si près qu'il n'y eut pas ung coup de perdu, dont plusieurs furent portez par terre, et quant et quant mettans la main à l'espée commencerent à chamailler ceulx qui restoient debout; et comme ilz tournoient le dos

pour se retirer au fort, voicy le lieutenant qui charge sur eux de l'autre costé, de sorte qu'il n'y eut pas ung d'entr'eulx qui eust moien de r'entrer dans le fort, et furent tous là tuez : ceulx de dedans voians qu'ils avoient en ung moment perdu le plus beau et le meilleur de leurs gens, et pensans que ceulx qui avoient faict ceste deffaicte ne feussent qu'une petite partie d'un plus grand nombre, désespèrent de pouvoir résister : et d'ailleurs ne pouvans espérer aucune composition de ceulx qu'ils avoient injuriez si oultraguesement, abandonnent le fort, et sortent pour s'aller sauver dans les bois, qui estoient de l'autre costé du fort, où le cappitaine Gourgue avoit faict mettre une grande multitude de sauvaiges, qui tout aussi-tost descochèrent leurs flesches sur eulx, et entre autres il y en eut ung qui d'un coup traversa la rondelle d'un cappitaine Espagnol et luy entra la flesche bien avant dans le corps par le tétin gauche, et l'abattit mort par terre. Le cappitaine Gourgue qui les avoit veuz sortir et estoit accouru après eulx, les arresta entre les bois et le fort ainsi qu'ilz fuyoient les traicts des sauvaiges, et là ils furent tous tuez et taillez en pièces, sinon ceulx qu'à grand difficulté il peust réserver pour les faire mourir en volleurs.

Dans ce grand fort furent trouvées cinq doubles coulevrines, quatre moyennes et d'autres petites pièces de fer et de fonte, avec dix-huict grosses cacques de pouldre, on y trouva aussy force armes comme harquebouzes, corcelets, rondelles, picques et autres. Le lendemain le cappitaine Gourgue aiant faict charger l'artillerie en deux vaisseaulx, ung sauvaige faisant cuire du poisson meit le feu à une trainée de pouldre que les Espagnols avoient faicte dont personne ne s'estoit encores apperceu. Le feu se print aux pouldres qui renversa les magazins de fons en comble, et brusla entièrement les maisons qui estoient de bois de sappin, les hommes n'eurent point de mal pour ce qu'ilz estoient tous dehors ça et là : mais tout ce qui estoit dedans fut bruslé et perdu, en sorte que le cappitaine Gourgue n'en raporta rien sinon l'artillerie qu'il avoit ja faicte charger.

Les Espagnols qui avoient esté prins en vie en ce dernier fort, furent menez au lieu où ils avoient penduz les François, après que le cappitaine Gourgue leur eust remonstré l'injure qu'ils avoient faicte au roy, luy massacrans ses subjects, et luy vollans la terre que sa majesté avoit conquise, et le fort qu'il y avoit faict bastir : et qu'ilz devoient avoir pensé qu'une si lasche trahison, et une si détestable cruauté exercée contre ung si puissant roy et contre une nation si généreuse, ne demeureroit impunie, que luy, qui estoit ung des moindres gentilhommes que le roy eust en son royaume en avoit entrepris la vengeance à ses propres cousts et despens. Quand les rois très chrestien et catholique eussent esté ennemis et en guerre mortelle, encores ne se pourroient-ils excuser de trahison et cruauté

extrême : Maintenant que leurs Majestez estoient amis et alliez si estroitement, leur faict ne pouvoit trouver nom assez abominable, et moins encores peine qui luy fust correspondante ; Mais encores que vous ne puissiez (dist-il) endurer la peine que vous avez méritée, il est besoin que vous enduriez celle que l'ennemy vous peult donner honnestement : affin que par vostre exemple les autres apprennent à garder la paix et alliance que si meschamment et malheureusement vous avez violée. Cela dit, ils sont branchez aux mesmes arbres où ils avoient penduz les François, et au lieu d'un escriteau que Pierre Melendes y avoit faict mettre, contenant ces mots en langage Espagnol : *Je ne faicts cecy comme à François mais comme à Luthériens*, le cappitaine Gourgue faict graver en une table de sapin avec ung fer chault : Je ne faicts cecy comme à Espaignolz, n'y comme à Marannes ; mais comme à traistres, volleurs et meurtriers.

Ceste exécution estant ainsi faicte, le cappitaine Gourgue qui avoit faict ce pourquoy il avoit entrepris le voiage délibéra de s'en retourner, et n'ayant assez d'hommes pour laisser à la Floride qui peussent tenir les forts, il délibéra de les ruiner de peur que les Espaignols qui tiennent d'autre terre assez près de là, survenans ne s'en emparassent de rechef, et mesme que ce ne fust une occasion pour les y attirer, ou que les sauvages mesme ne s'y fortifiassent, et que par ce moien l'accèz et l'entrée en fust plus mal-aisée au roy quand il plairoit à sa Majesté y envoyer de ses subjects pour y peupler, ausquels seroit plus aisé de bastir de nouveau que de prandre les forteresses qui se trouveroient basties, bien emparées et bien munies contre eulx ; mais affin que les sauvages ne trouvassent mauvais que les fortz fussent ruinez, ains qu'en estans bien aises ils les ruynassent eulx-mesmes, il assemble les rois et leur aiant remonstré du commencement comment il leur avoit tenu promesse, et les avoit vangez de ceulx qui les avoient tyrannisez si cruellement, il vint tomber puis après sur le propos de ruiner les forts, employant tout ce qui pouvoit servir à leur persuader que tout ce qu'il en vouloit faire estoit pour leur profit et en haine de tant de meschancetez et cruaultez que les Espaignols y avoient commises. A quoy ilz prestèrent si voulontiers l'oreille, que le cappitaine Gourgue n'eust pas plustost achevé de parler, qu'ils s'en coururent droict au fort, crians et appellans leurs subjects après eulx, où ilz feirent telle diligence qu'en moins d'ung jour ils ne laissèrent pierre-sur pierre.

Après cela, on part pour retourner aux deux premiers forts, lesquels furent abbatuz de pareille ardeur que le premier, et y pendit-on trente Espaignols prisonniers qu'on y avoit laissez ; l'ung desquels confessa avoir pendu cinq François de sa main, et s'accusoit grandement, disant en son langage que Dieu

estoit véritable et juste, qui l'avoit à la parfin conduit au supplice dont il menace les inhumains et cruelz.

Ainsi, ne restant plus rien à faire, le cappitaine Gourgue, voulant retourner à ses navires, qu'il avoit laissez à la bouche de la rivière de Tacatacourou, autrement appelée la Seine, à quinze lieues de là, il envoie par mer avec l'artillerie son lieutenant le cappitaine Casenauve, et luy avec quatre-vingts harquebouziers et quarante mariniers portans picques, s'en va par terre, menant tousjours ses gens en bataille à toutes adventures pour les sauvaiges, desquelz il ne se vouloit fier trop. Par tout où ils passoient, ils trouvoient les chemins couverts de bonnes gens du pays qui luy venoient au devant de toutes parts comme à leur libérateur, portans du poisson cuyt et autres vivres pour les soldatz, et entre autres une vielle femme qui leur dist qu'elle ne se soucioit point de mourir maintenant, puisqu'elle avoit veu une aultrefois les François à la Floride.

Quand le cappitaine Gourgue est arrivé à la rivière de Tacatacourou où estoient ses navires, il trouve que le maistre pilote avoit recalfeutré ses navires, changé les eaux, et appresté toutes choses, si bien qu'il ne falloit que s'embarquer. Icy donc il print congé des Roys, les admoneste de persister en la dévotion qu'ilz ont tousjours eue au roy de France, qui les deffendra contre les Espaignolz et contre tous autres. Et attendant que sa Majesté y envoie ung bon nombre d'hommes pour leur protection et deffense ; qu'ilz se tiennent bien sur leurs gardes, et advisent de n'estre point surprins. Ces bonnes gens sont les plus marriz du Monde, et se mettent à pleurer quand ils veoient que le capitaine Gourgue les veult laisser, et mesmes Olotoraca qui avoit mieulx combattu que pronostiqué de soy. Mais furent remis tout aussi tost quand il leur eust dit qu'il reviendrait à douze lunes de là (car c'est ainsi qu'ilz content) et leur porteroit force miroirs, haches et cousteaulx, qui sont les choses qu'ils ayment le mieux, et dirent qu'ilz s'en alloient faire danser leurs femmes, qui est le plus grand signe de réjouissance dont ilz usent entre eulx.

Après que le cappitaine Gourgue eust prins congé des Roys, il feit appeler ses gens pour rendre grâces à Dieu tous ensemble de la victoire qu'il leur avoit donnée, et pour le prier de leur estre guide et conducteur à leur retour en France. Quand ils furent assemblez : Mes amys (dit-il), rendons grâces à Dieu du bon succez qu'il a donné à nostre entreprise ; c'est luy qui nous a préservé du danger de la tempeste au cap de Finibus-Terræ, à l'isle Espaignolle, à l'isle de Coube et à la rivière de Halmacani ; c'est luy qui a ployé le cueur des sauvaiges à s'associer avec nous ; c'est luy qui a aveuglé l'entendement des Espaignolz, en sorte qu'ils n'ont jamais peu descouvrir noz forces, ny cognoistre et employer les leurs. Ils estoient quatre pour ung en places fortes bien rem-

parées et bien pourveues d'artillerie, de munitions, d'armes et de vivres. Nous, pour toutes choses, n'avions que le bon droict ; et toutefois nous les avons vaincuz en moins d'un rien.

Par ainsi ce n'est à nos forces, mais à Dieu seul que nous devons la victoire. Remercions-le donc, mes amys, et recognoissons toute nostre vie le grand bien qu'il nous a fait et le prions de continuer tousjours sa faveur envers-nous, nous guidant à nostre retour, et nous preservant de tous dangers. Prions-le aussy qu'il lui plaise disposer le cueur des hommes, en sorte que tant de dangers où nous nous sommes, mis et tant de travaux que nous avons endurez trouvent grâce et faveur devant nostre Roy et devant toute la France. Comme aussi nous ne nous sommes proposez autre chose que le service du Roy et l'honneur de nostre pays.

Après avoir remercié et prié Dieu, ung lundi, troisième jour de may, le rendez-vous fut donné comme l'on a accoustumé de faire sur mer, et les ancrs levées firent voile et eurent le vent si propre qu'en dix-sept jours ils feirent unze cens lieues de mer, et depuis continuantz leur navigation arrivèrent à La Rochelle le lundy sixième jour de juing, qui estoit le propre jour de Penthecouste. Ainsi ils ne meirent au revenir que trente-quatre jours ; toutefois une si grande navigation ne fut sans quelques traverses ; car la patache avec huict hommes dedans fut perdue ; comme aussi à la prinse des ports, et à la defaïcte des Espaignols en la Floride, estoient demeurez quelques gentilshommes de bon lieu et de bonne part, hardiz et vaillans au possible ; comme Lautome de Limosin, Bière, Carrau, Gaschie, gascons ; Pons de Xaintonge, et quelques soldats ; tous lesquels moururent combattans vaillamment, après avoir fait des plus beaux exploitz et actes de prouesse que l'on eust peu attendre d'ung cueur noble et geénéreux dédié au service de son prince et à l'honneur de sa patrie.

Au retour, outre la patache qui se perdit, la roberge où estoit ung cappitaine nommé Deux s'esgara à la haulteur d'une isle qu'on appelle la Vermude, et ne vint d'ung mois après que le cappitaine Gourgue fust arrivé. Peu s'en fallut que ceux qui estoient en ceste navire ne périssent de la tempeste premièrement et puis de la faim. Car lors mesmes que le cappitaine Gourgue partit, ils n'avoient tous ensemble à manger que pour vingt jours à raison d'un biscuit le jour de quatre en quatre. Mais Dieu voulut que le cappitaine Gourgue estant à cinq cens lieues de France rencontra ung navire d'un Basque sien amy, qui luy donna dix quintaulx de biscuits, qui leur fut ung bien et plaisir incroïable ; et ce d'autant plus qu'ils ne demeurèrent guères-moins à faire ces cinq centz lieues qu'ils avoient fait en tout le reste. Or après que le cappitaine Gourgue eut séjourné quelques jours à La Rochelle, où il reçeut tout honneur, toute courtoisie, et tout

bon traictement des citoyens, il feit voille vers Bordeaux, où il print la poste pour aller vers M. de Montluc luy rendre compte de son voiage. Il ha sceu depuis, que les Espaignolz advertiz par quelqu'ung, de ceulx qui l'avoient veu arriver à la Rochelle de ce qui avoit esté faict à la Floride, avoient envoyé dix-huict pataches avec une roberge de deux cens thonneaulx pour le surprendre, et estoient arrivez à la radde de La Rochelle le jour-mesmes qu'il en estoit parti. Et entendans qu'il avoit faict voille l'avoient suivy jusques à Blaye. S'il en eust été adverti à temps, il n'eust pour rien du monde refusé de parler à eulx : et selon leur demande il leur eust faict la responce telle, qu'ilz eussent eu grand occasion de s'en contenter.

MEMORIA DE JOAN DE LA VANDERA.

EN QUE SE HACE RELACION DE LOS LUGARES Y TIERRA DE LA FLORIDA POR DONDE EL CAPITAN JUAN PARDO ENTRÓ Á DESCUBRIR CAMINO PARA NUEVA ESPAÑA POR LOS AÑOS DE 1566, 1567.

EL ORIGINAL EN ARCHIVO DE SIMANCAS—COPIA EN LA COLECCION DE MUNOZ.



MEMORIA de los lugares i que tierra es cada lugar de las provincias de la Florida por donde el Capitan Juan Pardo entro a descubrir camino para Nueva España desde la punta de Sancta Elena de las dichas provincias los años de 1566 i 1567, que todo es como se sigue.

Primeramente salio de Sancta Elena con su compañía prosiguiendo el dicho efecto, y el dia que salio fue a dormir a un lugar que se dice Uscamacu ; aqui es isla cercada de rios, tierra arenisca i de mui buen barro para ollas i teja i otras cosas que sean necessarias : hai en esta tierra buenos pedazos de tierra para maiz i mucha cepa de viña.

Desde Uscamacu salio derecho a otro lugar que se llama Ahoya, a do hizo auto i durmio : este Ahoya es isla, algunos rincones della cercados de rios i los demas como tierra firme, i razonable tierra para maizes i tambien muchas cepas de viñas con muchos sarmientos. Desde Ahoya salio derecho a otro lugar que se llama Ahoyabe, pueblo pequeño sujeto a Ahoya i la misma tierra que es

Ahoya. Desde Ahoyabe salio derecho a otro lugar que se llama Coçao, ques un Cacique algo grande i tiene mucha tierra buena como las demas dichas, i muchos pedazos de tierra pedrisca donde se puede cultivar el maiz, el trigo, la cevada, la viña, todo género de frutas i huertas, porque hai rios, i arroyos dulces i razonable tierra para todo.

Desde Cozao salio derecho a otro lugar pequeño ques de un mandador del mismo Cozao ; la tierra deste lugar es buena, pera poca. Desde este lugar salio derecho a otro que se dice el Enfrenado ; tierra es misera aunque hai muchos rincones de mui buena tierra como las demas dichas. Desde el Enfrenado salio derecho a otro lugar que se llama Guiomaer, desde donde hasta la punta de Sanca Elena hai quarenta leguas ; el camio por donde se fue algo trabajaso, pero tierra que se puede cultivar todo lo que en Cozao i aun mejor ; hai algunos pantanos grandes i hondables, pero causalo la muhca llanura de la tierra.

Desde Guiomaer salio derecho a Canos, que los indios llaman Canosi, i por otro nombre Cofetaçque ; hai en el termino desta tierra tres o quatro rios razonables, i euno mui caudaloso i aun los dos ; hai algunos pantanos pequeños que qualquier persona aunque sea muchado los puede pasar por su pie ; hai en este trecho valles altos de mucha piedra i peña i bajos ; es tierra bermeja mui buena en efeto mui mejor que todas las dichas.

Canos es tierra que pasa uno de los dos rios caudalosos cabe el, i otros arroyos ; tiene mui grandes vegas i mui buenas, i aqui i desde aqui adelante se coje mucho maiz i hai mucha uva gruesa i mui buena, i mala gruesa i menuda i de otras muchas maneras ; al fin es tierra que se puede situar pueblo principal. Hay hasta Sancta Elena cinquenta leguas, i hasta lamar como veinte leguas ; puedese ir hasta el por el rio dicho cursando la tierra i mucho mas adelante por el mismo rio, i asimismo por el otro que pasa junto a Guiomaer.

Desde Canos salio derecho a otro lugar se llama Jagaya, mui principal tierra sin pantanos, tierra rasa, de poca arboleda, prieta i bermeja mui buena, i de mucha buen agua, fuentes i arroyos. Desde Jagaya salio derecho a otro lugar que se llama Gueza, tierra ni menos ni mas que la de arriba, mui abundante de buena. Desde Gueza salio derecho a otro lugar que se llama Arauchi, tambien tierra mui buena. Desde Aracuchi salio derecho a otro lugar que se llama Otariyatiqui, ques Cacique i lengua de mucha tierra adelante, tierra mui abundante de buena.

Desde este Otari a otro lugar que se llama Guatari hai como quinze o diez i seis leguas, a la mano derecha mas debaxo del norte que este otro, en este ha havido i hai dos Caciquas que son señoras i no poco en comparacion de los demas Caciques, porque en su traje se sirven con pajes i damas ; es tierra rica ; hai en

todos los lugares mui buenas casas i buhios terreros redondos i mui grandes i mui buenos ; es tierra de sierra i campiña buena todo lo del mundo : este lugar le vimos i estovimos veinte dias de buelta : junto a este lugar pasa un rio mui caudaloso que viene a dar a Sauxpa i Usi, donde se hace sal junto con la mar sesenta leguas de Sancta Elena. Desde Sancta Elena a este Guatari hai ochenta leguas, i por este mismo rio se puede entrar mas de veinte, segun dicen, qualquier navio.

Desde Otariyatiqui salio derecho a otro lugar que se llama Quinahaqui, donde pasa otro rio mui caudaloso ; es tierra mui buena i mui buena. Desde el lugar atras declarado la mano izquierda doze leguas del hai otro lugar que se llama Issa, que tiene mui lindas vegas i toda la tierra mui linda i muchos rios i fuentes : en la jurisdiccion deste Issa hallamos tres minas de cristal mui bueno ; estas estan registradas en feto como si luego se oviera de sacar provecho dellas. Todo esto vimos i entendimos a la buelta que bolvimos a Sancta Elena.

Desde Quinahaqui salio derecho a otro lugar que se llama Aguaquiri, ques tierra mui acabada de buena i fertil. Desde Aguaquiri salio derecho a otro lugar que se llama Joara, questa junto a la sierra i es donde Juan Pardo a la primera jornada que hizo llego i quedo su sargento ; se decir que es tan linda tierra como la hai en la mejor de toda España, para todos quantos generos de cosas los hombres en ella quieran cultivar ; hai hasta Sancta Elena cien leguas.

Desde Joara salio para la sierra adelante derecho a otro lugar que se llama Tocax, donde en la pasar tardamos tres dias : en esta sierra hai mucha uva, mucha castaña, mucha nuez, mucha cantidad de otras frutras ; es mejor que Sierra Morena, porque hai en ella muchas vegas i la tierra muy poco fragosa. En Tocax es mui buena tierra, donde se pueden hacer grandes labranzas de qualquier suerte. Desde Tocax salio derecho a otro lugar que se llama Cauchi, muy principal tierra ; desde aqui adelante compare esta tierra con el Andaluzia, porques mui rica tierra toda ella. Desde Cauchi salio derecho a Tanasqui, que tardamos en llegar a el tres dias por despoblado ; es una tierra tan rica que no se como me lo encaresca. Desde Tanasqui salio derecho a otro lugar que se llama Solameco, i por otro nombre Chiaha ; es tierra mui rica i anchurosa, lugar grande cercado de rios mui lindos : hai en derredor deste lugar, a legua i a dos leguas i a tres leguas i menos i mas, muchos lugares pequeños, todos cercados de rios ; hai unas vegas de vendicion, mucha uva i mui buena, mucho nispero ; en efeto es tierra de Angeles.

Desde Solameco salio derecho al Poniente a un lugar que se dice Chalaume, a donde tardamos en llegar tres dias por despoblado, i a donde hallamos sierras mas asperas que la sierra que nombramos ; en estos fuertes por donde pasamos

es tierra mui rica i agradable i fresca : al subir de una sierra destas hallamos humo de metal, i preguntando a los alquimistas dixeron con juramento que era de plata ; llegamos a Chalaume, que tiene tan buen sitio de tierra en comparacion como tiene la ciudad de Cordova, mui grandes vegas i mui buenas : halli hallamos uvas tan buenas como las hai en España ; se decir ques tierra que parece que Spañoles la han cultivado segun es buena.

Desde Chalahume salio derecho a otro lugar questa dos leguas de alli i se dice Satapo, desde donde nos bolvimos : es pueblo razonable de buenas casas i mucho maiz i muchas frutas silvestres, pero la tierra rica i mui agradable, i todos estos lugares i los de atras situados cabe mui lindos rios. Desde Satapo haviamos de ir derechos a Cosaque : creo yo segun me informo de indios i de un soldado que llevo alla desta compañia i bolvio i dio cuenta de lo que vido, hai cinco jornadas o seis hasta Cossa, tierra mui poco poblada, porque no hai mas de tres lugares pequeños, el primero questa dos jornadas de Satapo que se dice Tasqui : en estas dos jornadas hai buena tierra i tres rios grandes, i un poco mas adelante otro lugar que se dice Tasquiqui, i desde alli a otra jornada mas adelante otro lugar destruido que se dice Olitifar, todo buena tierra llana ; i desde alli a otras dos jornadas del despoblado mas adelante esta un lugar pequeño, i mas adelante deste como una legua. Cossa es pueblo grande, el mayor que hai desde Sancta Elena por donde fuimos hasta llegar a el ; tendra como hasta 150 vecinos, esto segun el grandor del pueblo ; es lugar mas rico que ninguno de los dichos ; hai en el de ordinario gran cantidad de indios ; esta situado en tierra baxa a la halda de una sierra ; hai en derredor de la media legua i a quatro de legua i a legua mui muchos lugares grandes ; es tierra mui abundante ; esta su sitio al sol de medio dia i aun a menos de medio dia. Desde Cossa haviamos de ir derecho a Trascaluza, ques el fin de lo poblado de la Florida : hai desde Cossa a Trascaluza siete jornadas, i creo que hai en todas ellas dos lugares o tres ; todo lo demas es despoblado. Trascaluza se dice questa al sol de medio dia, i que desde aqui a tierra de Nueva Spaña hai, unos dicen que nueve jornadas, otros que once, otros que treze, i lo mas comun nueve jornadas, todo de despoblado ; i en el medio de todo este camino hai un lugar de quatro o cinco casas, i despues prosiguiendo en el dicho efeto la primera poblacion que hai es de Nueva España, segun dicen. Ruego a Nuestro Señor lo provea como se le haga servicio amen. Fecha en la punta de Sancta Elena veinte tres dias del mes de Enero año de mil i quinientos i sesenta i nueve años.

CARTA QUE SE DA NOTICIA,
DE UN VIAJE HECHO Y LA BAHIA DE ESPIRITU SANTO, TEXAS;
Y DE LA POBLACION QUE TENIAN AHI LOS FRANCESES.

EL ORIGINAL EN ARCHIVO DE SIMANCAS—COPIA EN LA COLECCION DE MUNOZ.



A, gracias á Dios, bolvimos de nuestro viaje, el qual hicimos en cinquenta dias con mucha felicidad, i el dia de S. Marcos descubrimos la bahia del Espiritu Santo i la poblacion que tenian los franceses, la qual se componia de una casa fuerte de madera con sus pernos de fierro i el techo de tablazon clavado, i una capilla pegada del de dicha madera, i otras cinco casas de madera aferradas con barro, con muchas troneras, orilla de un riachuelo mui hondo que entra en la bahia del Espiritu Santo: el sitio es mui llano; la tierra mui amena i fertil; mucha abundancia de civolos i pescado, i es cierto que causava lastima ver la ruina considerable que sucedio en dicha poblacion, pues haviendo una peste de viruelas, en que murieron mas de cien franceses, segun supimos de los pocos que havian quedado vivos, habrá tres meses los mataron los indios, con dos religiosos Recoletos i un clerigo, quebrando mas de cien arcabuces, frasqueras i caxas, llevandose ornamentos y calizos, i trecientos arcabuces, mas de docientas pistolas, docientos alfanges, despedazando i rompiendo mucha cantidad de libros, que hallamos desparramados por los patios, i tres cuerpos que hallamos de un hombre, un muchacho i una muger con sus vestiduras, los quales los enterramos i se les cantó una misa, y otra en hacimiento de gracias á Neustra Señora de Guadalupe por haver descubierto dicha poblacion i bahia: hallamos ocho piezas de artilleria, las quales dexe enterradas en parte señalada, tres pedreros que los dos truxe, aunque sin recámaras: truxe dos franceses, que remito al Exc.^{mo} S.^{or} Conde de Galve, los quales hallé con el governador de los Texas, i otros de ellos cerca de sus poblaciones, que es gente muy politica, i siembran mucho mahiz, frixoles, calabazas, sandias y melones: dicen tienen nueve poblaciones, digo pueblos, el mayor de ellos de quince leguas de largo i ocho ú diez de ancho, en que tendra dicho pueblo ochocientos vecinos, i cada uno de ellos con una casa muy grande de

madera, aforrado en barro i techada de cal, con su simentera i puerta pegada á dicha casa, i de esta forma se van siguiendo unas con otras. En la parte donde hallamos al indio Gobernador con los dos franceses tenian un oratorio mui enramado con flores con mucho aseo, i un altar con un tabernaculo de varas, donde tenian imagines i un Santo Christo i un rosario sobre el altar, con algunos instrumentos de musica para festejar á los santos: tenia en medio del oratorio unas brazas, en que echan pedazos de cebo por las mañanas para sahumar el altar: tenian un cerro grande de leña bien apilada, i en frente de la puerta del oratorio una luminaria de dia i noche encendida para alumbrar á los santos; los indios de edad, santeros que llaman, que cuidan solo del oratorio, i estos quando matan civolas ó algun genero de caza, hasta que ellos le echan la bendicion no comen de ella: tienen mucho conocimiento que hai un solo Dios verdadero, que está en los cielos, i que nacio de la Virgen Santissima, i hacen muchos actos de cristianos, i me pedia el indio Gobernador Ministros que le enseñasen, que ha muchos años que una señora entrava á verlos i á enseñarlos, i que esta ha muchos tiempos que no va: que es cierto es lastima que gente de tanta razon que siembran i tienen conocimiento de que hai Dios, no tengan quien les enseñe la ley evangelica, mayormente quando es una provincia la de los Texas tan grande i tierra tan fertil i de lindo temple. Se sirven con ollas i cantaros de barro: ponen sus ollas, i con tamales de maiz comen á uso de nosotros. Es gente mui trabajadora, i hacen muchas curiosidades de petates, chiquiquites, fajas de lana de civola, i las tienen coloradas, i plumeros tambien teñidos. Tienen muchos caballos i los estiman mucho, en que matan civolas. Los franceses tienen reconocidas todas sus poblaciones, i tenian amistad con ellos. Adelante de los Texas en otros pueblos dicen está un frances, digo un fraile de los franceses, con otros tres ó quatro: un clérigo hermano del Gobernador frances Mons. Salé pasó por los Texas al Canadá por haber muerto un ingles al dicho Gobernador Mons. Salé para venir con mas gente á dicha poblacion, por haver muerto los mas de viruelas, i no haver vuelto un navio de la armada del Rey de Francia que truxo cien hombres pagados por el Rey, ciento i cinquenta barriles de polvora, ocho piezas de artilleria de bronce, quatrocientos arcabuzes, docientas pistolas, docientos alfanges i muchos instrumentos i pertrechos de guerra, como son balas, palanquetas, granadas i otras municiones, que todo lo dexó al Mons. Salé en la bahia del Espiritu Santo, i que las ocho piezas de bronce que venian en otro navio lo hicieron varar en el puerto, sacando lo mas que se pudo de el, i que el navichuelo pequeño al cabo de seis meses se perdió en la bahia con un Norte grande: la nao de la armada se bolveró á Francia i no ha buuelto: podrá ser buelva con mas gente. Estos ha cinco años

que entraron á esta bahia en busca de la primer poblacion que hicieron havrá nueve años, donde era el primer frances que truxe, la qual por diligencias que hicieron, ni por mar ni por tierra han podido descubrir, ni tienen razon, ni de los indios, aunque en la boca del rio Mons. Salé quando fué á Francia á dar quenta á el Rey, para traer mas gente, dexó una cruz por señal con un escudo, i en el las armas del Rey de Francia: esta la pudieron los indios quitar, i como entran tantos riachuelos i esteros en la mar, no han atinado con la entrada hasta llegar á la poblacion, que estava rio arriba distante de la mar: puede ser haya sido permission, pues siendo tan grandes marineros no hayan podido conseguir el descubrirlo, aunque han hecho por tierra i por mar muchas diligencias. Dice el frances primero que desde donde está la poblacion que vimos á la otra que tenian, por tierra, pasando unos rios mui caudalosos á nado i á la ligera, se ponía un indio que el embiava quando venia colando por estas partes en diez dias: i que por mar á la bahia, que lo anduvo el en dos ó tres ocasiones, se ponía en quatro dias en un barco. El trato que querian asentar los franceses era de pieles i lana de civolas, cebo i manteca i palo de Brasil, que de todo hai mucha abundancia: tenian ya mucha cria de murranos; sembravan maiz, calabazas, sandias i melones i legumbres, como son, escarolas i esparragos i otras cosillas, que por no cansar á Vm. no doi mas razon por menudo: solo si digo que es de las tierras mas fertiles i de lindo temple que yo he visto, i hai muchisima uba, que estando en agras es mas gruesa que la de parras, i quando madura es mui dulce, segun dicen los franceses. Guarde Dios á Vm. muchos años. Cuahuila i Mayo diez i ocho de mil seiscientos ochenta i nueve años. Remiti mapa i diario al Exc.^{mo} S.^{or} Conde de Galve de donde está la bahia del Espiritu Santo, con el islote en medio de su entrada, que tendrá cerca de un quarto de legua en contorno: la bahia dicen tiene veinte leguas de largo i diez ú doce de ancho: está en veinte i nueve grados i tres minutos, aunque el astrolabio estava algo vencido: la poblacion cae de la entrada al Sudueste Nordeste como doce leguas de la boca, dos leguas arriba por un riachuelo que desemboca en dicha bahia.— Cuahuila, 18 de Mayo do 1689.

HISTORICAL ACCOUNT

OF WORKS ON THE INDIAN LANGUAGES OF FLORIDA AND TEXAS.

FROM the discovery of North and South America, the languages of the natives have always been, as they still are, an object of the highest interest to the scholar and the missionary; and wherever the scientific world has been drawn to them, it has been mainly by the investigation of the pious missionaries, who, inspired by religious zeal, imperilled their lives to teach them Christianity, we are indebted for our knowledge of their languages, and to learned philologists for their classification and comparative view of the aboriginal languages of this continent. With true love for this branch of philological studies, it has ever been the purpose of the author of this and previous volumes of the "Historical Collections of Louisiana and Florida" to note the works published in this and other countries to aid the student in the investigation of American Indian languages, which must in time lead to most interesting results.

Father FRANCISCO PAREJA, a native of Spain, one of the founders of the Franciscan Order in *St. Elena, Florida*; and guardian of the first convent established there, has published the following works on the *Timuaca* (*Timuquana*) language of Florida, viz.: *Confesionario en lengua Castellana y Timuquana, Mexico, 1612*; *Catechismo y Examen para los que comulgan en lengua Castellana y Timuquana, Mexico, 1617*; *Gramatica de la lengua Timuquana de Florida, Mexico, 1614*. Father GREGORIO MORILLA published "*Doctrina Cristiana*," a book on the administration of sacraments, in the Tinqu language of Florida, Mexico, 1635. In a letter addressed by Mr. KIDDER, of *Boston*, to the Indian Bureau, at *Washington*, he informs the Secretary that he has in his possession a manuscript vocabulary of five hundred or more words of the *Seminole* language. Vocabularies of the *Seminole* and *Mickasuke* Indians have likewise been published by B. SMITH and M. COHEN.

A. PIKE has recently deposited in the "Smithsonian Institute" a rare MS. containing over eleven hundred words of that remarkable semi-civilized nation, the *Natches*, of which but few words have heretofore been published or known to exist by early writers.

In the *Museo Mexicano*, tomo 3, p. 537, mention is made of a work entitled "*Manuel para administrar los S. S. Sacramentos a los Indios de las Naciones de Texas*;" Compuesto por el P. FRAY BARTOLOMEO GARCIA, Predicador Apostolico; Franciscano de la Mission de San Antonio de Texas, 1769, 4to.

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